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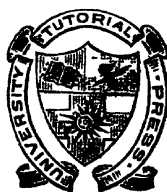
BEING ENGLISH HISTORY FROM 1485 TO 1901, WITH
SOME REFERENCE TO THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
OF EUROPE AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENTS

BY

C S FEARENSIDE, M A OXON ,

AUTHOR OF "AN INTERMEDIATE TEXT-BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORY,"
"THE TUTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," ETC

Second Impression.



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PREFACE.

THIS book is intended to meet the requirements of the London University Matriculation syllabus in Modern History, and deals with "The general course of English History from 1485 to the death of Queen Victoria, with some reference to the contemporary history of Europe and Colonial developments."

The syllabus states: "The questions will be framed to test the general conceptions of history and historical development rather than technical detail." In a text-book, however, technical detail is to some extent necessary in order that from it the reader may obtain conceptions which shall be duly in accordance with facts; and it is for the teacher to see that in endeavouring to fulfil the University requirements the learner finds his generalisations on a proper knowledge of leading events, persons, and dates, and also of the meaning of such common technical terms as must be used even in an elementary treatment of the subject.

The main features of the book are the attempt to observe due proportion between the various periods handled, the provision of topical contents to each chapter and an exceptionally full index, and the careful division of the subject-matter into parts, chapters, and sections, each of which has a real unity in itself and a real connexion with its neighbours.

The author takes this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the assistance rendered by Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, LL.M., M.A., of Hartley University College, Southampton, and (especially in the Introduction) by Miss M. E. Carter, of Somerville College, Oxford.

MAPS, PLANS, AND TABLES.

FULL-PAGE MAPS

	PAGE
CHIEF VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1400-1700 A.D.	28
IRELAND ABOUT 1500 .	31
ENGLAND, WALES, AND PART OF SCOTLAND IN THE STUART PERIOD	134
THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS . .	166
THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, 1783 .	222
EUROPE AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER, 1812	260
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL DURING THE PENINSULAR WAR	276
BRITISH DOMINIONS IN INDIA, 1837 . . .	308

PLANS AND SMALL MAPS

ENGLAND IN FIRST CIVIL WAR 111	BATTLE OF BLENHEIM .	190
BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR . 118	SIEGE OF QUEBEC	233
BATTLE OF NASEBY 121	BATTLE OF WATERLOO	288
ENVIRONS OF SEBASTOPOL DURING THE CRIMEA WAR.		328

GENEALOGIES.

THE DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD III. .	xviii
THE ROYAL HOUSE OF TUDOR	xix
THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART	xx
THE VALOIS AND THE HAPSBURGS .	45
THE SPANISH SUCCESSION HAPSBURGS AND BOURBONS	186
THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK OR HANNOVER	198

SYNOPSSES

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR	112, 113
BRITISH COLONIES IN 1714	170
THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, BRITISH ASPECTS .	226
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION . . .	242

ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

(1)	INTERNATIONAL HISTORY TO 1485.	SECTIONS
	Roman Empire and Catholic Church	1
	Struggle between Empire and Church in the West, and Close of the Middle Ages	2
	History of Italy, Germany, Burgundy, Austria, France, and Spain in the Fifteenth Century	3-6
	The New Monarchy, its Methods and Relations to the Church	7-9
(ii)	HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLES to 1485.	
	Geographical Position and Physical Structure of the British Isles	10, 11
	The Distribution of Population in the British Isles	12, 13
	History of Wales, Ireland, Scotland, before 1485	14-17
(iii)	CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND to 1485.	
	Kingship, Council, Lords, Commons, King and Parliament	18-24
	Revenue and Taxation	25
	The Clergy and the Royal Supremacy	26, 27
	Constitutional Position at the Accession of Henry VII.	28
(iv)	ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND to 1485.	
	Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce	29, 30
	BOOK I.—THE TUDOR PERIOD, 1485-1603	31-36

CHAPTER I—HENRY VII.

(1)	THE PERIOD OF INSTABILITY, 1485-1497	
	<i>Henry VII.'s Dynastic Position and Difficulties</i>	37
	1487. Lambert Simnel, B. of Stoke, Court of Star Chamber	39
	1492. Treaty of Estaples and Perkin Warbeck	41
	1495. Poynings in Ireland Statute of Drogheda	44
	1497. Battle of Blackheath, Capture of Warbeck.	46
(ii)	DOMESTIC SECURITY AND FOREIGN ENTERPRISE, 1497-1509.	
	1497. The Cabots' Voyage to Newfoundland	50
	1501-3. The Spanish and Scottish Marriages	48
	1506. Henry's Relations with Flanders <i>Malus Intercursus</i>	49

CHAPTER II.—HENRY VIII. AND CARDINAL WOLSEY.

- (1) **LEAGUES AGAINST FRANCE, 1509-1525.** SECTIONS
 1513. The Holy League, 1511-1514 Guinegate and Flodden . 53
 1520 Field of the Cloth of Gold Francis I v. Charles V. .. 57
- (ii) **ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE, 1525-1529**
 1527-9 The Divorce Question and Fall of Wolsey .. . 58

CHAPTER III.—HENRY VIII.'S CHURCH REVOLUTION

- (1) **THE DIVORCE QUESTION, 1529-1533.**
 1531. The Clerical Recognition of the Headship 62
 1532. The Submission of the Clergy 63
 1533. The Statute of Appeals Henry marries Anne Boleyn .. 65
- (ii) **THE BREACH WITH ROME, 1533-1536.**
 1534 First Statute of Supremacy .. . 68
 1535 Cromwell, Vicar-General Execution of Fisher and More 69
 1536. Suppression of the Smaller Monasteries 70
- (iii) **THE TRIALS OF A LAY POPE, 1536-1547.**
 1536-7. The Pilgrimage of Grace and of the Bull of Deposition .. 73
 1539. Suppression of the Larger Monasteries The Six Articles 75
 1540. Marriage with Anne of Kleves Fall of Cromwell . 79
 1536-43 Anglo-Welsh Parliamentary Union .. . 80
 1542-6 Wars with France and Scotland B. of Solway Moss . 82

CHAPTER IV—ENGLAND UNDER FOREIGN INFLUENCES.

- (i) **THE PROTECTORATE OF SOMERSET, 1547-1549.**
 1547. The Scottish War B of Pinkie 87
 1549. First Act of Uniformity Rising in West and East .. 89
- (ii) **THE ASCENDANCY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, 1549-1553**
 1552. Second Act of Uniformity, Tampering with the Succession. 92
- (iii) **MARY AS SOLE QUEEN, 1553-1554.**
 1553. Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey 94
 1554. Wyatt's Rising and the Anglo-Spanish Marriage .. 96
- (iv) **PHILIP AND MARY, 1554-1558.**
 1554-58. Reconciliation with Rome: Marian Persecution .. 98
 1558. French Capture of Calais Death of Cardinal Pole .. 100

CHAPTER V.—ELIZABETH'S CHURCH SETTLEMENT.

- (i) **THE ELIZABETHAN CHURCH SETTLEMENT, 1558-1559.**
Survey of Elizabeth's Dynastic Position and Reign .. 101
 1559. Second Act of Supremacy; Third Act of Uniformity .. 103

(11) THE STRUGGLE WITH MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, 1559-1569.	SECTIONS
1560 The Scottish Reformation and the Treaty of Berwick ..	107
1562 Return of Mary, 1561; Elizabeth's Occupation of Havre ..	108
1565-7. <i>The Question of the English Royal Succession</i> ..	109
1569. Mary's English Flight, 1568 Rising of the Northern Earls	111

CHAPTER VI.—THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

(1) THE PAPAL ATTACK, 1570-1584	
1570 Pius V's Bull of Deposition Regnans in Excelsis ..	112
1571 English Anti-Papal Legislation; Thirty-Nine Articles ..	113
1571. <i>Elizabeth's Relations with Spain</i> the Ridolfi Plot	116
1577-80. Drake's Circumnavigation of the Globe	119
1579-84 The Jesuit Invasion of the British Isles	120
(11) THE STRUGGLE WITH SPAIN, 1585-1603.	
1585 Elizabeth's Alliance with Scotland and the Netherlands ..	123
1587. Execution of Mary Queen of Scots	125
1588 The Defeat of the Spanish Armada	126
1596-03 The Rebellion of Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone ..	128
1601. The First General Poor Law and the Monopolies Question	130
BOOK II —THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, 1603-1660 ..	131-138

CHAPTER VII.—JAMES I.

(1) JAMES I. AND SALISBURY, 1603-1612.	
<i>James's British and Colonial Position</i>	139
1604 The Puritans and Hampton Court Conference ..	142
1605. The Roman Catholics and Gunpowder Plot ..	143
1606. Bate's Case and Salisbury's Financial Methods ..	144
(11) JAMES I. UNDER SPANISH INFLUENCE, 1613-1625.	
1614 The Addled Parliament Bacon and the Undertakers ..	146
1618. Execution of Raleigh and the Bohemian War ..	147
1620 The Voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers	147
1621. James's Third Parliament and the Commons' Protestation	149
1624. James's Fourth Parliament and the Monopolies Act ..	151

CHAPTER VIII.—CHARLES I'S CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS

(1) BUCKINGHAM AND THE FIRST THREE PARLIAMENTS, 1625-1629.	
1625 First Parliament Tunnage and Poundage	153
1626. Second Parliament Impeachment of Buckingham ..	154
1627. Buckingham's First Expedition to La Rochelle ..	155
1628. Third Parliament Petition of Right	156
„ Death of Buckingham, Fall of La Rochelle	158
(1) ELEVEN YEARS' PERSONAL RULE, 1629-1640.	
<i>Charles's Foreign and Colonial Policy</i>	160
1637. English Finance Ship Money and Hampden's Case ..	163
1638 Laud's Ecclesiastical Policy Scottish National Covenant	164
1638-40. The Bishops' Wars and the Short Parliament, 1640 ..	165

(iii) BEGINNINGS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT, 1640-1642.	SECTIONS
1641. Stafford's Execution; Ulster Rising; Grand Remonstrance	168
1642. Arrest of the Five Members; Militia Bill; XIX Propositions	174

CHAPTER IX.—THE GREAT CIVIL WAR

(i) THE FIRST CIVIL WAR, 1642-1646.	
<i>Social and Military Aspects of the Great Rebellion</i>	.. 176
1642 Battles of Edgehill and Brentford Treaty of Oxford	179
1643 Year of Sieges, Solemn League and Covenant; Cessation	180
1644 Battles of Marston Moor, Cropredy Bridge, Tippermuir	184
1645 New Model; Naseby and Philiphaugh; Glamorgan Treaty	187
(ii) KING, PARLIAMENT, AND ARMY, 1646-1649.	
1648-7. Westminster Assembly of Divines	.. 190
1647. The Army's Heads of Proposals	.. 191
1648. Second Civil War; Treaty of Newport; Pride's Purge	192
1649. Trial and Execution of the King	.. 194

CHAPTER X.—THE COMMONWEALTH.

(i) PARLIAMENTARY REPUBLIC, 1649-1653	
<i>Constitutional and International Perils of the Republic</i>	.. 195
1649 Second Conquest of Ireland Cromwell's Sack of Drogheda	197
1650-1. Conquest of Scotland Battles of Dunbar and Worcester	.. 198
1651-4 Navigation Act, 1651, First Dutch War; Monk and Blake	199
1653. Dissolution of the Rump, Assembly of Nominees	201
(ii) THE PROTECTORATE, 1653-1659	
1653 The Instrument of Government; Anglo-Scottish Union	203
1655 Cromwell's Foreign Policy Capture of Jamaica	206
1658. Death of Oliver Cromwell Richard, Protector	.. 208
(iii) THE YEAR OF ANARCHY, 1659-1660	
1660. Monk's March, Charles's Declaration from Breda	.. 210
BOOK III — THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION, 1660-1688	212-214

**CHAPTER XI.—CHARLES II. AND THE PROTESTANT
NONCONFORMISTS.**

(i) THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT IN THE THREE KINGDOMS.	
1660 English Convention Indemnity, Oblivion, Revenue, Army	215
1662. Savoy Conference, 1661 Fourth Act of Uniformity	.. 219
1661. Scots Restoration re-establishment of Episcopacy	.. 220
1662-6. Irish Restoration Acts of Settlement and Explanation	.. 221
(ii) THE ANTI-PURITAN MOVEMENT, 1661-1670.	
1661-5. Clarendon Code Corporation, Conventicle, Five-Mile Acts	223
<i>Clarendon's Foreign and Colonial Policy</i>	.. 224
1665-7. Second Anglo-Dutch War; Great Plague and Great Fire	.. 226
1667-8. Fall of Clarendon; the Cabal, Triple Alliance	.. 227
1670. The Secret and the Sham Treaty of Dover	.. 230

**CHAPTER XII—CHARLES II. AND THE CATHOLIC
NONCONFORMISTS.**

(i) THE ANTI-ROMANIST MOVEMENT, 1670-1681.	SECTIONS
1672 Third Anglo-Dutch War; Declaration of Indulgence	231
1673 The Test Act; Break up of the Cabal	234
1673-8. Danby's Ministry and the Anglo-Dutch Marriage, 1677	235
1678. The Popish Plot and the Impeachment of Danby	236
1679 Temple's Privy Council Shaftesbury's Habeas Corpus Act	237
1679-81. Exclusion Bill Struggle, Three Short Parliaments	239
(ii) THE ROYALIST REACTION, 1681-1685.	
1683 Flight of Shaftesbury, 1682; Rye House Plot	242
1684 Rule of the Chits Remodelling of the Corporations	243

CHAPTER XIII.—JAMES II.

(i) THE APPEAL TO THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH, 1685-1686.	
1685 Risings of Argyll and Monmouth, Jeffrey's Bloody Assize	248
1686 Dispensing power Hale's Case, Ecclesiastical Commission	251
(ii) THE APPEAL TO THE NONCONFORMISTS, 1687-1688	
1687 Fall of the Hydes. Scottish and Irish Policy	253
1688. Declarations of Indulgence, Trial of the Seven Bishops	256
(iii) THE INVASION OF ENGLAND, 1688.	
1688 Arrival of William of Orange, Flight of James II	260
1689 The English Convention and the Declaration of Right	264

BOOK V.—THE RISE OF PARTY GOVERNMENT, 1688-1754 266-273

CHAPTER XIV—WILLIAM AND MARY.

(i) REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT IN THE THREE KINGDOMS, 1689-1691,	
1689. England Mutiny Act, Toleration Act, Bill of Rights	274
„ Scotland Claim of Right, Battle of Killiecrankie	280
1690. Restoration of Presbyterianism in the Scots Kirk	280
„ Ireland. Battles of Beachy Head, Boyne, and Limerick	283
1691 B of Aghrim and Treaty of Limerick	284
(ii) DEFENCE OF THE REVOLUTION, 1691-1694.	
1692 Battles of La Hogue and Steinkirk	286
1694. Bank of England, Third Triennial Act, Death of Mary	288

CHAPTER XV.—WILLIAM III.

(i) CONCLUSION OF THE WAR OF THE ENGLISH SUCCESSION, 1695-1697.	
<i>The Whig Junto and the Experiment in Party Government</i>	290
1695. Lapse of the Licensing Act	292
1696. Jacobite Plots, Loyal Association; Restoration of Coinage	293
1697. General Peace of Ryswick	295
(ii) THE SWING OF THE PARTY PENDULUM, 1698-1702	
1698. Attacks on Dutch William, Scots Darien Scheme	296
1698-00. The Spanish Succession and the Partition Treaties	298
1701. Act of Settlement: Death of James II.	299
1600-98. Survey of the Work of the East India Company	302

CHAPTER XVI.—QUEEN ANNE.

(i) MARLBOROUGH'S EARLY TRIUMPHS, 1702-1706	SECTIONS
<i>Motives in the War of the Spanish Succession</i>	303
1704. Battle of Blenheim Capture of Gibraltar	307
1706 Battle of Ramillies general success of Archduke Charles	308
(ii) THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH UNION, 1707	
1699-07 <i>Causes and Conditions of the Parliamentary Union</i> .	309
(iii) THE WHIGS AND THE WAR, 1707-1710	
1708 Battle of Almanza (1707) Oudenarde and Minorea	311
1709. Battles of Malplaquet and La Gudina ..	315
1710. Conference of Gertruydenburg Fall of the Whigs	316
(iv) THE TORIES AND THE PEACE, 1710-1714	
1711. Accession of Charles VII as Emperor, Fall of Marlborough	319
1713 Peace of Utrecht: Great Britain, France, and Spain ..	320
Domestic Policy of the Tories in Church and State ..	321

CHAPTER XVII—GEORGE I

(i) THE STUART AND THE GUELF, 1714-1716	
1715 The Riot Act and the Jacobite Rising in the North	324
1716 The Septennial Act its constitutional significance	326
1717 The Triple Alliance against Spain and Sweden .	328
(ii) THE FIRST WHIG SCHISM, 1717-1720.	
1718 Byng's Victory off Cape Passaro Glenshiel, 1719	330
1719 Stanhope's Protestant Interests Act Peerage Bill	331
1720 South Sea Bubble Walpole replaces Stanhope ..	332
(iii) BEGINNINGS OF WALPOLE'S ADMINISTRATION, 1721-1727.	
1722 Banishment of Atterbury Return of Bolingbroke, 1723 ..	334
1724 Wood's Halfpence and Swift's <i>Drapier's Letters</i> .	335
1725 Rival Alliances of Vienna and Hanover	336

CHAPTER XVIII—GEORGE I. AND WALPOLE.

(i) WALPOLE AND QUEEN CAROLINE, 1727-1737	
1727 Walpole v Compton · First Indemnity Act for Dissenters	337
1731 Second Treaty of Vienna the Pragmatic Sanction ..	338
1733 Excise Bill, Polish Election, First Family Compact ..	339
(ii) THE SECOND WHIG SCHISM, 1737-1742	
<i>Walpole as Prime Minister, and the Parliamentary Opposition</i>	342
<i>Rise of Methodism, 1729-1739 Wesley and Whitefield</i>	343
1739 Outbreak of the War of Jenkins' Ear its Character .	344
1740. Wars of the Austrian Succession · Causes and Parties ..	346
1742 Resignation of Walpole	347

CHAPTER XIX.—GEORGE II. AND THE PELHAMS.

(i) CARTERET'S "DRUNKEN ADMINISTRATION," 1742-1744.	
1743. Battle of Dettingen Second Family Compact	349
1744. Pelhams force Carteret (Granville) out of the Ministry ..	351

		SECTIONS
(ii)	PELHAM'S "BROAD-BOTTOM ADMINISTRATION," 1744-1754.	
1745.	Battle of Fontenoy . the Forty-Five . . .	352
1746	Abortive Bath-Granville Ministry Loss of Madras . . .	355
1748	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle . its inconclusive character	358
1751	Death of Frederick Prince of Wales Calendar Act	359
1754.	Hardwicke's Marriage Act, 1753 . Death of Henry Pelham	359

**BOOK V —THE MAKING AND RE-MAKING OF EMPIRE,
1754-1793 . . . 360-364**

CHAPTER XX —THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

(i)	THE CAUSES OF THE WAR, 1748-1756	
1600-1750	<i>European Merchants in India—English, Dutch, French</i> . .	366
1744-8.	First Anglo-French War in Coromandel: Dupleix . .	367
1748-54	Second Anglo-French War in Coromandel Clive . .	368
1757	The Black Hole, 1756, and the Battle of Plassey	369
1600-1750.	<i>European Colonies in North America—English, Dutch, French</i>	370
1752-5	Fort Duquesne Washington, Braddock, and Boscowen .	371
1756	Treaties of Westminster and Versailles: Loss of Minorca	373
(ii)	THE COURSE OF THE WAR, 1756-1763.	
1756-7.	Ministerial Changes . Newcastle, Devonshire, and W Pitt	375
1757	Convention of Klosterseven Invasion of Canada . .	376
1759	Great Year Minden, Lagos, Quebec, Quiberon Bay	377
1760	Battle of Wandiwash Death of George II . .	378
1761	Charles III, Choiseul, and the Third Family Compact	379
1762	Bute, Prussia, and Spain Havana and Manila . .	380
1763.	Treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg	382

*CHAPTER XXI —GEORGE III'S CONSTITUTIONAL
EXPERIMENTS*

(i)	BUTE, GRENVILLE, AND WILKES, 1760-1765.	
1760	Accession of George III. Bute supplants Pitt and New- castle	383
1763.	Wilkes and the North Briton, No 45	386
1765	Grenville's Ministry, 1763-5 Stamp Act, Regency Bill .	387
(ii)	ROCKINGHAM, GRAFTON, AND JUNIUS, 1765-1770	
1765-8	Ministries of Rockingham (1765-6), and Chatham (1766-8)	390
1768-70	Grafton's Ministry Wilkes and the Middlesex Election .	392
1765-7.	Clive's Second Governorship of Bengal, 1765-7 . . .	394

CHAPTER XXII.—THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(i)	LORD NORTH AND THE EAST, 1770-1773.	
1770	North's Ministry . Falkland Isles Election Petitions . .	395
1773	North's Regulating Act Boston Tea Party	398
(ii)	LORD NORTH AND THE WEST, 1773-1777.	
1607-1763.	<i>The North American Colonies and the Mother Country</i> . .	399
1763-73	Question of Imperial Taxation . Grenville, Townshend, North	401

	SECTIONS
1774. Lord North's "Intolerable Acts": First Continental Congress	402
1775 Battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill	403
1776 American Declaration of Independence	404
1777. Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga	406
(iii) THE BOURBON INTERVENTION, 1778-1783.	
1778. Franco-American Alliance and its General Effects	407
1773-82 Warren Hastings in India Bengal, Maráthas, Mysore	409
1779-82. Henry Grattan and the Irish Volunteers	410
1780 The Gordon Riots Dunning's Resolution Armed Neutrality	411
1781. Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown	413
1782. Rodney's Victory off the Saints Elliott at Gibraltar	414
1783 Peace of Versailles recognises American Independence	415

CHAPTER XXIII.—PITT'S YEARS OF PEACE

(i) GEORGE III.'S SECOND STRUGGLE, 1782-1784.	
1782. Rockingham's Second Ministry (March-June)	416
1782-3. Shelburne's Ministry (July-February) Renunciatory Act	417
1783. Portland's Coalition Ministry (April-December)	418
1783. Pitt's First Ministry begins with Parliamentary Struggle	419
(ii) PITT AS PEACE MINISTER, 1783-1793.	
1784 Pitt's India Act Hastings and Cornwallis	421
1785-6 Pitt's Projects of Parliamentary and Financial Reform	422
1788 Pitt's Triple Alliance Botany Bay Regency Question	424
1791-2 Pitt's Canada Act, 1791. Fox's Label Act, 1792	427

BOOK VI.—THE GREAT WAR AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 1793-1837 428-435

CHAPTER XXIV—THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

(i) THE FIRST COALITION, 1793-1797	
1789-92 <i>British Opinion on the French Revolution</i>	436
1793 Outbreak of Anglo-French War Dunkirk, Toulon	437
1794 Glorious First of June: Whig Split	438
1795. <i>Treaties of Basel Repressive Measures Poor Law</i>	439
1797. <i>Treaty of Campo-Formio. St Vincent: Camperdown</i>	441
(ii) THE SECOND COALITION, 1798-1802.	
1798. Bonaparte's Eastern Expedition Battle of the Nile	442
1799 Capitulation of Alkmaar, Bonaparte as First Consul	443
1800 British Capture of Malta leads to Second Armed Neutrality	444
1801 Treaty of Lunéville Pitt's Resignation B. Alexandria	445
1802 Peace of Amiens Causes and Conditions	446
(iii) INDIA AND IRELAND, 1789-1805	
1782-98. The United Irishmen and the Ninety-Eight.	447
1800 Brito-Irish Union Terms and Omissions	448
1786-91 Cornwallis and Shore in India Mysore Wars of 1792, 1799	449
1798-05 Wellesley in India: Battles of Assaye, Argaum, and Laswari	450

CHAPTER XXV.—THE NAPOLEONIC WAR.

(i) NAPOLEON'S MARITIME ATTACK, 1803-1805.	
<i>General Features of the Napoleonic Period</i>	451
1803. Breach of the Treaties of Amiens and Lunéville	Emmett 452
1804 Pitt's Second Ministry Third Coalition ..	453
.. Formation of the French and Austrian Empires ..	453
1805. Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz ..	454
1806. Death of Pitt and Fox Maida and Cape Colony ..	456
1807 Expeditions to Alexandria, Constantinople, and the River Plate	457
(ii) THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM, 1806-1808	
1806. Battle of Jena Berlin Decrees . Orders in Council ..	458
1807. Franco-Russian Treaty of Tilsit Copenhagen and Heligoland	460
(iii) THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-1814.	
1808 Napoleon, Wellesley and Moore in Spain and Portugal ..	462
1809 Fourth Coalition Wagram, Walcheren, Talavera ..	463
1810-2. Peninsular Campaigns Torres Vedras, Albuera, Salamanca	464
1810-2 The Regency and the Beginning of the Liverpool Ministry	466
1812-4 Anglo-American War Causes and Incidents ..	467
1812-3. Napoleon's Invasion of Russia, and the War of Liberation	468
1814 First Downfall of Napoleon First Treaty of Paris ..	469
(iv) THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1814-1815	
1815 The Hundred Days and the Waterloo Campaign ..	470
.. Territorial Settlement at the Congress of Vienna ..	473

CHAPTER XXVI — ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

(i) CASTLEREAGH AND SIDMOUTH, 1815-1822.	
<i>Political Condition of Britain and Europe after Great War</i>	474
1815-9. Corn Law Manchester Massacre, Sidmouth's Six Acts ..	476
1820. Accession of George IV Queen Caroline; New Men ..	477
(ii) CANNING AND HUSKISSON, 1822-1827.	
1823-6. Huskisson's Commercial Policy Reciprocity ..	479
1823. Canning's Foreign Policy the Monroe Doctrine ..	480
1827. Greek Revolt Treaty of London Battle of Navarino ..	481
(iii) WELLINGTON AND O'CONNELL, 1827-1830	
1828. Wellington and the Protestant Nonconformists ..	483
1829. Wellington and the Catholic Nonconformists ..	484
1830. State of Political Parties at the Death of George IV ..	485

CHAPTER XXVII — PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

(i) THE GREAT REFORM BILL, 1830-1832.	
1830. Revolution in France, Belgium, and Poland ..	486
Wellington gives place to Grey's Whig Ministry ..	487
1832. First Reform Bill the Contest and its Results ..	488
1830-2. Palmerston's Foreign Policy Friendship with France ..	491

	SECTIONS
(ii) THE FIRST TWO REFORMED PARLIAMENTS, 1832-1837.	
1833. Abolition of Slavery. Bank Charter Act	492
" First Education Grant; Factory Act	493
1834. Melbourne succeeds Grey Poor Law Amendment Act ..	495
1834. Peel's First Ministry. Tamworth Manifesto and Conserva- tivism	497
1835. Return of Melbourne Municipal Reform Act	498
1833-5 Beginning of the Oxford Movement	500
1833-7 Palmerston and the Eastern Question Mehemet Ali and France	501
1805-35 British India under Moira, Amherst, and Bentinck ..	502
BOOK VII—THE VICTORIAN AGE, 1837-1901 504-509	
CHAPTER XXVIII—PEEL AND THE CORN LAWS.	
(i) END OF MELBOURNE'S MINISTRY, 1837-1841.	
1837-41. <i>Social and Political Conditions at Victoria's Accession</i> ..	510
1837-40 Unrest in Canada. Durham's Report, 1838, Act of Union	513
1835-43 The Great Trek of the Boers Annexation of Natal, 1843	514
1840. Palmerston's Second Quadruple Alliance against France ..	515
1838-42 Auckland and the First Afghan War	516
1838-42 First Chinese War Acquisition of Aden and Hong-Kong	517
(ii) PEEL'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1841-1846.	
1841-46. Indian Affairs Sindh annexed, First Sikh War	519
1843. The Disruption Founding of the Free Church of Scotland	520
1846 Irish Potato Famine Repeal of the Corn Laws	521
CHAPTER XXIX—PALMERSTON AND DERBY.	
(i) RUSSELL, DERBY, AND ABERDEEN, 1846-1855	
1846 Spanish Marriages and Anglo-French Relations	522
1846-8 Young Ireland and the Chartists	523
1848. The Year of Revolutions France, Sardinia, Hungary, Bohemia	524
1851. Queen and Ministers Dismissal of Palmerston	525
1851 Great Exhibition Other Domestic Events under Russell	526
1852. First Derby Ministry. Aberdeen Coalition Ministry ..	527
1850. Australian Colonies Act Responsible Self-Government ..	529
1846-52 South Africa under Sir Harry Smith the Boer Republics	530
1848-56. India under Dalhousie Punjab, Pegu, Oudh	531
(ii) THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1854-1858.	
1854-6. The Crimean War Causes, Course, Results	532
1856-60 Persian and Chinese Wars	536
1857-8 The Indian Mutiny and the End of John Company ..	537
(iii) DERBY AND PALMERSTON, 1858-1865	
1858-9 Second Derby Ministry Rise of the Volunteers	539
1860. Palmerston's Second Ministry Question of Money Bills	540
1859-64. Palmerston's Relations with France, Italy, Denmark ..	541
1861-5. American Civil War Cotton Famine. the Alabama ..	542

CHAPTER XXX.—DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE.**(i) THE LEAP IN THE DARK, 1865-1868.**

1865-6.	Russell's Second Ministry. Seven Weeks' War	..	543
1867.	Derby's Third Ministry (1866-8) Second Reform Act	..	544
1867.	Carnarvon's British North America Act	..	545
1868.	Disraeli's First Ministry. Abyssinian War	..	546

(ii) GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY, 1868-1874.

1871.	Foreign Affairs German Empire Treaty of Washington.	547
	Colonial Affairs Diamonds at Kimberley Wolseley at Kumasi	548
1869.	Irish Legislation Irish Church Act Irish Land Act, 1870	549
1870	English Legislation Forster's Elementary Education Act	550
1872.	British Legislation Cardwell's Army Reforms	551

(iii) DISRAELI'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1874-1880

1873-9	Formation of the Home Rule and Irish Land Leagues	553
1877.	Queen Proclaimed Empress of India Two Afghan Wars	554
1879	Establishment of the Dual Control in Egypt	554
1878.	Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of Berlin	555
1877.	South Africa, 1875-1880 Annexation of the Transvaal	556

(iv) GLADSTONE'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1880-1885

1881.	Battle of Majuba Hill Pretoria Convention	557
1882.	Defeat of Arabi Pasha Appearance of the Mahdi	558
1880-5	Irish Affairs Boycotting and the Phoenix Park Murders	559
1884-5.	Franchise Act Redistribution of Seats Act	560

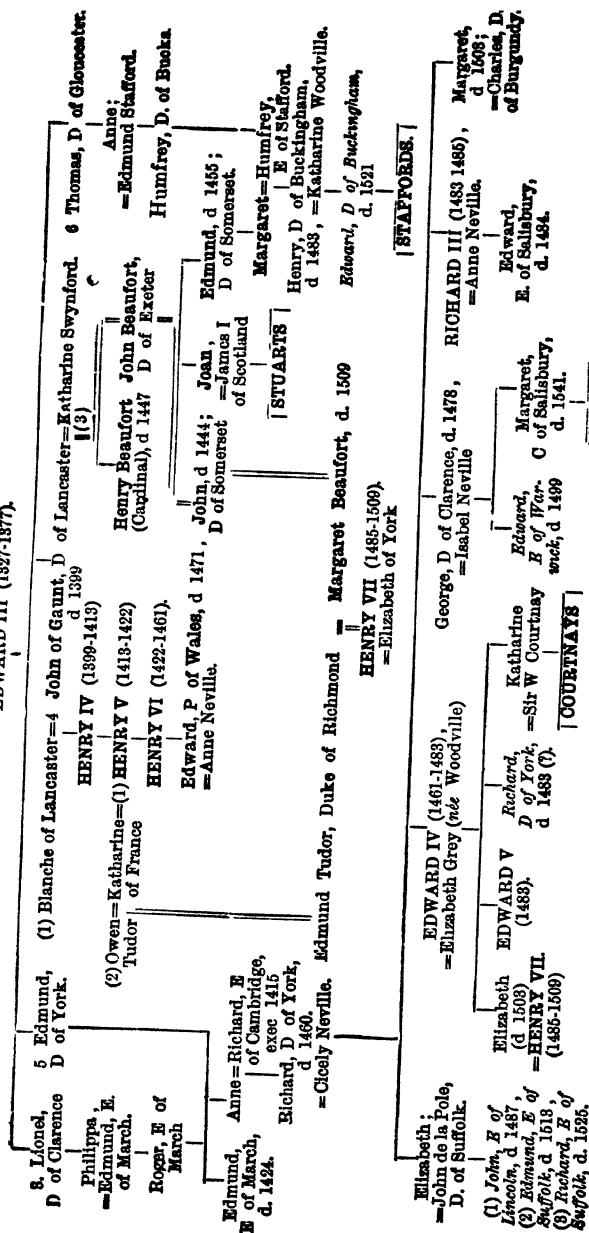
CHAPTER XXXI.—DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE.**(i) MINISTERIAL HISTORY, 1885-1902.**

1885-6.	First Salisbury Ministry Third Burmese War	561
1886	Third Gladstone Ministry First Home Rule Bill	562
1886-92	Second Salisbury Ministry Local Government Act, 1888..	563
1892-4.	Fourth Gladstone Ministry Parish Councils Act, 1894	564
1894-5.	Rosebery Ministry: Harcourt's Budget.	565
1895-92.	Third Salisbury Ministry Death of Queen Victoria, 1901	566

(ii) THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA, 1885-1902.

1884-5.	London Convention Berlin Conference	567
	North-East Africa. Uganda and Egypt: France and Ger- many	568
	West Africa: Niger Company Anglo-French Agreements	569
1884-02.	South Africa: Rhodes, Hofmeyr, Kruger	570
1884-02.	Asia: Penjdeh Chitral. Boxer Rising	573
1900.	The Pacific. Australian Commonwealth Act. Federation	584

EDWARD III (1327-1377)



NORW.—The Lancastrians and family names in dark type, eminent deeds of the Tudors in *italics*, sovereigns in *italics* (the figures within brackets denoting the period of their reigns). The descent of Henry VII shown by a double line.

The Royal House of Stuart.

James IV. 1503 =
(1513-1542)

(1) MARGARET (2)
elder dau of
HENRY VII.

= Archibald Douglas,
E. of Angus, 1514.

James V.
(1513-1542).

Margaret = Matthew Stuart,
E. of Lennox.

Francis II. = (1) Mary, Queen of Scots (2) = Henry, Earl of Darnley, 1565,
(1542-1567), d 1587

Charles, E. of Lennox.
—
Sir William Seymour, 1610, = Arabella Stuart,
d 1616.

Anne of Denmark, 1589 = { James VI (1567-1625)
James I. (1603-1625).

Marquess of Hertford, great-great-
grandson of Henry VII.'s younger
dau Mary. Suffolk Line.

Henry, Prince of Wales, d 1612. CHARLES I. = Henrietta Maria, of
(1625-1649) France, 1625

Elizabeth, d. 1662, "
"The Queen of Hearts"

= Frederick V., Elector
Palatine, 1613.

CHARLES II (1633-1685)
= Katharine of
Braganza, 1662.

Mary, d 1660
= William of
Orange.

Anne = (1) JAMES II (2) = Mary
Hyde, (1685-1688)
1660 d 1701

Hennietta
d'Este, of = Philip,
Modena, D of Anjou,
1673. and
Orleans.

1. Charles
Louis, Count
Palatine,
d 1680
2. Rupert
"of the
Rhine,"
d 1682
3. Maurice,
d 1652. (1714-1727).

WILLIAM III. = MARY II. ANNE
in 1677 (1689-1694) (1702-1714)
(1689-1702). = Prince
George of
Denmark

James
Francis

Edward, the
"Old Pretender,"
d 1766

4. Sophia,
d 1714
= Ernest
Augustus,
D. of
Brunswick
and Elector
of Hanover

William, Duke of Gloucester,
d 1700

16 other children,
died young

Charles Edward,
the "Young Pre-
tender," d 1788

Henry Benedict,
Cardinal Duke
of York, d 1807.

DIRECTIONS.—Scottish kings in dark type; English kings in CAPITALS, men and women connected with the Royal House of Stuart by marriage only in *italics*, dates in brackets denote regnal years, the thick line denotes the lines of descent leading to English crowned heads.
NOTES.—James IV was in the *eleventh* generation from that Walker *Fit Alms* of Overstry who became Hereditary Sheriff of Scotland in the 12th century, and in the *sixth* from that Walker whose marriage with Mary Bruce brought his son to the Scottish throne in 1371 as Robert II.

MATRICULATION

MODERN HISTORY.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

I. INTERNATIONAL HISTORY TO 1485.

§ 1. **The Empire and the Church.**—In the years 323–325 A.D., the Roman Empire and the Christian Church united to form what, in its secular aspect, is called the “Holy Roman Empire,” and, in its religious aspect, was the “Holy Catholic Church.” The history of this complex institution is the history of Europe. There had formerly been a Christian Church, or Churches, free and independent of the State, sometimes persecuted by it henceforth the State protected and controlled the Church. Antagonism between Church and State was undreamt of. Church and State were practically identical, every citizen being *ipso facto* a Catholic, and in both aspects owning allegiance to one supreme head, the Emperor. In course of time, this state of things came to be regarded as divinely appointed, and treatises were written to prove and maintain this position. In 395, the Greek or Eastern part of the Empire finally separated from the Latin or Western part. The Eastern became a Greek-Roman Nation-Church, whose conflicts with successive waves of Muhammadans form part of the story of Europe, and whose fall, in 1453, was a world-wide event. Western Rome had a different course to run. It was what may be called a Church-State. Its temporal power was broken down by inroads of Teutonic tribes, who, however, made a further fusion of its Roman-Christian elements with their laws and customs. In other words, while the Roman Empire was dissolved, the Roman Church and Law remained and coalesced with the Teutonic elements.

It was this union that created Western Europe. It everywhere developed kingdoms, which acknowledged no permanent superior until, in A.D. 800, one great king, the Frankish Karl, who ruled over all civilized Western Christendom, was crowned Emperor by Leo III., the then Bishop of Rome. In this German king (whom the French

call Charlemagne) the Roman Empire was revived in the West, and from that time, until 1453, there were almost continuously two persons claiming to represent the ancient Roman Empire—the Greek who reigned in Constantinople, and the German whose capitals were, as a rule, Aachen and Rome. But neither Catholic Church nor Western Empire could keep order: every baron or bishop who could build a fort and hold it attempted to make himself sovereign. Some succeeded, some did not; and, partly out of, and partly to check, this rose mediæval kingships. In the Iberian Peninsula, there were Kings of Navarre, Castile, Leon, Aragon and Portugal; there were Dukes in Paris who became Kings of the Franks—afterwards of France; there were Kings of Germany and Italy, who soon became merged into one person—the Emperor, and there were Kings of the English, and of the Scots, and Kings in Ireland. Thus, side by side, or rather intermixed, there were four powers—the Empire, the Church, Kingships, and the confusion which has been called Feudalism.

§ 2. The Struggle between Empire and Church in the West.—Empire and Church were in harmony until the reformation of the Church, effected by Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII) and others, emphasized the distinction between them and led to a war between the Emperors and the Bishops of Rome, in which the latter, under the name of Popes, obtained the victory, and became the recognized heads of the Holy Catholic Church. This struggle between the Spiritual and the Temporal Powers had several notable results. In the first place, as the Popes' simplest method of weakening their rivals was to encourage the vassal princes and cities of the latter to revolt, Germany and Italy fell to pieces, and remained mere "geographical expressions," not states, until very recent times.

Secondly, the Empire became practically restricted to Germany—a Germany which, however, included not only what has been known since 1871 as the "German Empire" but also the bulk of the Netherlands, the County of Burgundy, the mountain region now known as "Switzerland," and the north-western parts of what has been called, since the Holy Roman Empire came to an end in 1806, the "Empire of Austria." Further, the Imperial dignity became purely elective. Vacancies were filled up by a few ecclesiastical and temporal princes called "Electors," just as vacancies in the Papacy were filled up by a somewhat larger number of clergy of the Roman City-Churches called "Cardinals." As the Empire carried with it no territory and very little power, it had to be given to a powerful prince. From

the fifteenth century onwards, that prince was, with one exception (Charles VII.), the Archduke of Austria, of the family of Hapsburg.

Finally, the character and prestige of the Papacy were diminished. Its partisanship during the "Babylonish Captivity" (1305-1376), its rapacity then and during the "Great Schism" (1378-1417), and its neglect of its religious functions gave rise to a universal discontent, which found expression in the revival of Œcumenical (*i. e.* universal) Councils—of Pisa (1409), of Constanza (1414-18), and of Basel (1431-38). The monarch of Christendom triumphed over the aristocratic opposition of the Councils, and the various abuses which they had been designed to check remained and grew. The Church was given another century to prepare itself for the task which lay before it: the guidance of Modern Europe.

✱ Modern Europe, because it is with the fifteenth century that the Middle Ages are generally held to pass away. The old ties binding man to man, community to community, were worn out, and new ones were unconsciously found to replace them. The failure of the Papacy to effect the desired re-union with the Greek Church showed that the unity of Christendom was an exploded idea—though it was not until the next century that the formal disruption took place; and the division of Europe into petty feudal groups proved, at the same time, to be obsolete. ✱ Feudalism became an impossible basis of society when town artisans and rural labourers rose above the status of villans. Called into existence to secure unity, peace and order, it everywhere stood convicted of being the source of division, disturbance and war. The fifteenth century saw the creation on the Continent of something intermediate between the Empire and the fief—the modern *state*. ✱ Throughout the West of Europe, there was a simultaneous effort on the part of the more powerful princes to turn their feudal suzerainty into an effective sovereignty, and to weld scattered possessions into one dominion.

§ 3. **Failure of Italy and Germany to attain Unity.**—In Italy the close connection with the two representatives of Christian Unity had been fatal. The various communities within its borders—the chief of which were the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the States of the Church, the Duchy of Milan, the Republic of Venice and the City-state of Florence—strove ceaselessly for the mastery. By combining against the one who, from time to time, seemed to be getting dangerously powerful, the various Italian potentates elaborated the theory of the Balance of Power which was shortly to be adopted as the political rule of life in Europe, and thus maintaining

their own prosperity were, in spite of their ever restless ambition, comparatively content. But when, in 1494, outside Powers began to interfere, the palmy days of those jealous little states was over, so far as political activity was concerned

Germany, like Italy, paid a heavy penalty for its intimate association with the grandeur of the mediæval Church-Empire of the West. The Popes who had ejected the Emperors from Italy had irretrievably weakened them in Germany. Territorialism was rampant; the Emperor was a mere feudal suzerain, intent, like his vassals, on consolidating his power within his own domains; and Princes, Knights, Towns, Peasantry were at almost constant strife one with another. The weakness of Germany against foes within and without was equally evident. The disunion of Germany was intensified, not only by this family policy of its rulers, but also by the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century

§ 4. **Burgundy and Austria.**—Not less important than the failure of Germany to attain unity was the failure of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy to build up a strong, centralized "Middle Kingdom" out of their strange medley of French and Imperial fiefs—covering approximately the same ground as the modern Kingdoms of Holland and Belgium, but also including detached districts farther south. This failure was clinched when Charles the Rash fell at Nancy in battle with the Swiss (1477), and left his sole heiress, Mary, and his lands to be scrambled for by his two feudal lords, Louis XI. of France and the Emperor, Frederick III. The former obtained the *duchy* of Burgundy and part of the Flemish borderlands: the latter married his son, Maximilian, to Mary. On this marriage the entire political history of the sixteenth century turns.

Just as the Valois Dukes of Burgundy strove to lift themselves above the level of the other princely houses of France (cf. Table, p. 45), so the Hapsburg Dukes of Austria deliberately attempted to raise themselves in Germany. They built up a dominion which was recognized, in the seventeenth century, as distinct from the Emperorship by the general name of Austria, and has recently (1866) been thrust out of Germany altogether. The history of Europe for four centuries and the map of Europe to-day testify to the importance of the Hapsburg family policy of the fifteenth century. Frederick III. (1440–1493) raised his duchy to the dignity and style of an arch-duchy; arranged that the various contiguous lands in the possession of collateral branches of the house should be gathered together in the hands of his son; and married Maximilian to the heiress of

Burgundy. The result was even greater than he expected. Further marriages and unexpected deaths (cf. Table, p. 45) combined to bring Spain and its possessions under the sway of one great-grandson, Charles V., while to the other, Ferdinand I, owing to a marriage treaty arranged by Maximilian with Wladislas, King of Hungary and Bohemia, those semi-elective kingdoms fell in when their short-lived Polish line of Kings came to an end at Mohács in 1526. The union of the Austrian, Bohemian and Hungarian lands in the hands of one prince is responsible for the modern "Empire of Austria". from the Burgundian marriage the immediate European importance of the house arose

§ 5. **Modern States:** (1) **France.**—The fifteenth century was the birth time of the modern state. The attempts to unify Italy and Germany, and to create a Middle Kingdom failed, it is true, and the Hapsburg Monarchy, though actually formed, was long distracted by foreign connections, and is to this day without the organic unity that marks the modern state; but the political fortunes of France, Spain and England were quite different. Their efforts at consolidation were crowned with success. For some centuries, France had been a bundle of fiefs held together by the bond of light allegiance to a feudal head. To transform this feudal *suzerainty* into a national *sovereignty* was the aim of her Kings. They, like the Kings of England, had learnt by experience the danger of granting away large territories to members of the royal family. In the latter part of the fifteenth century, they kept them in their own hands and laid the foundations of their power on escheated fiefs.

§ 6. (11) **Spain.**—Modern France was built up by the re-union of feudal divisions. Modern Spain was a coalition of kingdoms, not a re-union of fiefs. The kingdoms of Portugal, Navarre, Castile, Leon, Catalonia, Valencia and Aragon had, by the fifteenth century, been amalgamated down to four—the kingdoms of Navarre, of Portugal, of Castile and Leon, and of Aragon. The marriage of Isabella of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon led, in 1479, to the union of these two crowns, though not as yet—owing to national jealousies as stubborn as the long Anglo-Scottish antipathy—to the union of the Kingdoms. The two monarchs then proceeded to earn the title of "Catholic Sovereigns" by undertaking the expulsion of the "infidels" from the Peninsula, and by this national war made Spain as distinctly one, as the national war against the Danes made England one, and as the Hundred Years' War had made France one. In 1492, the capture of the town of Granada completed the conquest.

of the surviving Muhammadan kingdom, and marked the dramatic completion of the unification of Spain.† In 1492, also, Columbus “gave a New World to Spain”; and, in 1500, the long struggle with France in Italy began. The eastward extension of Spain was the outcome of old Aragonese claims in Naples: her westward extension, since it was Isabella who had the foresight to encourage Columbus, was the work of Castile.

§ 7. **The Methods of the New Monarchy.**—The methods whereby these huge areas were kept in hand and administered by the French and Spanish Kings were closely analogous to those of the Tudor Monarchs in England, where a relapse into Feudalism had taken place. Feudalism in government meant the delegation of the various functions of government to the great land owners—whether nobles who individually held large estates, or burgesses who collectively formed the corporation in the towns. The essence of this new rule was the resumption of these powers and their exercise by officials under the eye of the King. this is the “new monarchy” that came into being in the fifteenth century. In each of these newly compacted kingdoms, the Kings were able to put down the Nobility with the help of the Towns, and then, with the wealth and strength thus acquired, either to purchase or seize control of the Towns and Churches. The judicial powers, which had been to a great extent either actually or practically in the hands of the great nobles, were entrusted to central bodies of lawyers, having interests too different from the nobles to be prejudiced in their favour, and a power too great for coercion by them. Thus, in France, the *Parlements* were strengthened and multiplied something after the fashion of the Angevin *Curia Regis*; in Spain, a powerful *Inquisition* was set up, which is not to be regarded as solely an ecclesiastical body because it is called “Holy” and because it suppressed Jews and heretics as well as nobles; and, in England, the judicial powers of the Privy Council were revived and widely exercised in the form of the Star Chamber. In England and Spain, these new, royal judicial bodies were closely bound up with the general administration: in fact the powers of administering the laws, of punishing their infraction, and of formulating, if not of actually enacting, them fell into the hands of a council or group of councils wherein the moving spirit was the King. In France, the *Parlements*, whose original function was the execution of the laws, became the proper places for the promulgation and registration of the royal edicts, and so acquired a voice in law-making.

§ 8. Taxation and the Church.—The actual, and not merely the nominal government, of these three states of the West was thus gathered into the hands of the Kings-in-Council. But, for this purpose, money was required; and in all three states the custom had grown up, when the expenses of government began to exceed the King's personal and feudal income, of obtaining grants of money from national assemblies—the Parliaments in England, the States-General in France, and the Cortes in the various kingdoms of Spain. In each of these countries it had come to be more or less understood that without the consent of the payers, given through their representatives in those bodies, taxation ought not to be exacted, but the New Monarchy found means of evading this possible check on its power. In England, the kings became wealthy enough to be independent of Parliament, in Spain, the Cortes let go the practice of getting redress of grievances before voting supplies, and became merely formal assemblies, and, in France, the States-General were practically dropped out of the Constitution. In fact the Towns, which formed the chief money-granting element in these national councils, were for the most part content with the security for trade which followed the suppression of the great nobles, and attached a greater value to the material welfare which they derived from a government to all intents and purposes despotic, than to the less tangible advantage of preserving institutions which contained the germs of "constitutional government."

§ 9 The New Monarchy and the Church—The supremacy of the New Monarchy over the kingdom which it had built up was completed by the acquisition of the control of the Church. This State control over the Church was in its origin quite independent of, however much, in its later developments, it may have been mixed up in, the varied ecclesiastical movement of the sixteenth century which is called the Reformation. In England, the King acquired full control of the Church, with the help of the Clergy themselves and in opposition to the Papacy; in France, the King alternately used the Papacy itself and the Gallican Church to secure that control; and, in Spain, it was with the full consent of both the Clergy and the Papacy that the Monarchy obtained its control over the Church. In France, the Crown played off the National Church against the Papacy, and ultimately secured from the latter the recognition of its claims to patronage and to a definite control over ecclesiastical appeals and discipline. All these points had close analogies in England. Three important things should be noted about them:

(a) they were in no country the result of the Reformation, (b) they testify to the temporary waning of the Catholic idea of world-unity, and (c) this control of the Church by no means implies that assumption of spiritual authority by the State which is called Erastianism.

II. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLES TO 1485.

§ 10. **Geographical Position of England.**—The history of the British Isles has been affected by geography to an exceptional extent. To their geographical position and to their structural formation they largely owe their present unique status in the world. The two chief characteristics of England's geographical position are "semi-insularity" and "universality." In the Middle Ages, "semi-insularity" was its most prominent quality. Originally part of the continent of Europe, the British Isles were separated from it, before the beginnings of recorded history, by narrow arms of sea; while on the western side they have always been protected by the Atlantic Ocean. Provided by nature with a strong frontier, England was able to devote her attention to internal development much earlier than her neighbours on the Continent. She preserved her social continuity and developed her ancient Teutonic institutions unhampered by a feudalism of the continental type, and, partly owing to her freedom from invasion, partly because of the wise policy of William I, Henry II and Edward I, she early attained a measure of centralization and national unity to which the other countries of Europe were long strangers.

But England, though "insulated," was not "isolated." The narrow seas were very narrow, especially round the south-eastern corner of the island. "Kent," as Mr. Mackinder says, "was the window by which England looked into the great world", and her close proximity to the Continent enabled her to keep in touch with the various continental movements which were to preserve her from stagnation. From a commercial point of view, the position of England was not so favourable in the Middle Ages as in modern times. Before the discovery of the New World by Columbus, the Mediterranean was the centre of European commerce and civilization, the meeting-place of the trade routes of the old world. England was the "utmost corner of the west," and stood on the outside "limits of the known." By the discovery of the West Indies (1492) England, though still at the "end of the old world," found herself, by virtue of her position on the Atlantic, "at the beginning of the new," and, with the discovery of the new route by the Cape to the East Indies, on the

line of route from there to Flanders. Henceforward her universality was more marked than her insularity.

§ 11. Physical Structure of the British Isles. ~~X~~The seas which intervene between Great Britain and Ireland have separated what should be one compact territory into two : they have also made the larger of the British Isles a long and narrow strip which lends itself easily to further division. This separation has been emphasized by the fact that the hilly regions of England and Wales lie between Ireland and the English lowlands, and that the latter are divided by central uplands from the Scottish lowlands, while the Highlands of Scotland form a still more inaccessible district in the extreme north. Their close proximity indicated political unity as the ultimate fate of the British Isles, but separation was their inevitable lot in a period of difficult communication and scant intercourse. The separation of the British Isles, though a source of weakness, has not been an unmixed evil. It has made a varied development possible, and has given rise to those differences of character which are the fruitful parents of initiative and enterprise. But a prominent aim of the English Kings has naturally been to increase their strength by the formation of a united kingdom, and, even before the close of the Middle Ages, many steps had been taken towards the political union of the British Isles. ~~X~~

§ 12. The Distribution of Population.—The English lowlands of the South and East, being the part most open to invasion were naturally populated first, but, with the influx of fresh peoples the former inhabitants were pushed westward until they were eventually compelled to take refuge among the hills of Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and across the sea in remoter Ireland. As the Keltic invaders preceded the Teutonic in point of time, it necessarily followed that Ireland, Wales, and the Scottish Highlands were populated by Kelts, while England was mainly peopled by Teutonic tribes. The earliest invaders to affect British History were the Iberians, who belonged to a race which once inhabited a large part of Western Europe. They were not exterminated by the next immigrants, but took refuge in wooded and hilly districts. The Iberians were followed by successive waves of Keltic immigration. The first-comers were distinguished from the others by the name of Goidels, or Gaels. It is probable that they originally settled in Southern Britain, but, if so, they were driven to the West by the next invaders—the Britons, at any rate, it is only in the Isle of Man, in Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland that Gaelic is

now spoken. Next came the Gauls, who landed on the east coast, while at the same time the Belgæ (from whom the modern Belgians take their name), who were probably also Kelts, established themselves in the South. They seem to have settled down among the Britons as conquerors, and formed states of no mean size. The Roman occupation followed in point of time. It was military in character and, on the whole, temporary in effect. The most valuable legacy left by the Romans to Britain was the network of great roads by which they opened up South Britain to civilization and commerce.

§ 13. The Teutonic Immigration.—After the departure of the Romans the Teutonic immigration began. As usual the invasions took place in the South and East. The invaders came from the country around the mouth of the Elbe; and their conquest was ruthless in its character. Such Britons as were left alive sought a refuge in the fastnesses of Wales, in Cornwall, and in the hilly district afterwards known as Cumbria or Strathclyde.

At the close of the eighth century, the Danish invasions began and were followed, half a century later, by permanent settlements on the east coast and as far north as the Tees. The Danes soon intermarried with the people among whom they settled, and “introduced a rougher, stronger and, perhaps, freer element” into the language and life of England, while their maritime skill promoted the development of commerce. The last invasion was the Norman Conquest. The Normans, like the Danes, settled down among the former inhabitants, intermarried with them and became thoroughly English. They invigorated the people whom they had conquered, and the political ability of the Norman Kings did much to promote national unity. The favourable position of England made her sea power possible; but, without the energy and maritime aptitude of her people, she would never have become the mistress of the seas, the commercial centre of the world, and the nucleus of an Empire “upon which the sun never sets.”

§ 14 Wales.—Wales falls geographically into three main divisions: a mountainous and inaccessible North-West, a less hilly and more accessible South, and a Centre which contains the upper valley of the Severn and lies open to the English plain. After the Norman conquest Border-earldoms were established for the purpose of subduing Wales, and the South and Centre gradually passed into the hands of these Lords-Marchers, as they were called. But the mountainous region of the North-West remained unconquered until Edward I. made its conquest part of his imperial policy. The

government of the conquered principality was regulated by the *Statute of Wales*, passed at Rhuddlan in 1284, but it was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that the whole of the region now called "Wales and Monmouthshire"—including both the principality proper and the dominions of the Lords-Marchers—was divided into shires and represented in the English Parliament X

§ 15. **Ireland**—Ireland was occupied at an early date by Iberians and Gaels, and, though exposed to Northman inroads, remained unconquered for many centuries. In the reign of Henry II it was partially subdued by some Norman barons, and the King went in person to Ireland to receive their homage and that of the Irish chiefs. He could not, however, stay long enough to make his conquest a reality by the establishment of a strong central government. After this partial conquest, the Anglo-Norman adventurers succeeded in obtaining a firm hold upon Leinster, and a footing in Connaught and Ulster, but they were engaged in constant struggles with the native Irish. In 1313, Robert the Bruce saw in the disorder of the country an excellent opportunity for its conquest, and the long struggle which followed permanently weakened the English element in Ireland X During the Wars of the Roses, Ireland almost recovered its independence. The English rule was limited to a small region round Dublin, and the task of completing the conquest was left to the Tudors X

§ 16 **Scotland**.—The history of Scotland in the Middle Ages is a history of successful attempts to make of Scotland a united kingdom, and of unsuccessful attempts to bring England and Scotland under one rule. Modern Scotland has been built up from three foundations. The original inhabitants were Gaels and consisted of the Picts, and the true Scots who had crossed from Ireland in the sixth century. By the close of the ninth, Picts and Scots had united under one King, Kenneth MacAlpine, who ruled over the whole country north of the Firths of Clyde and Forth. Lowland Scotland was formed by a combination of the northern half of the Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde, and Lothian, the northern part of Northumbria, districts which the Saxon Kings of England found it politically convenient to cede to the Scottish Kings in order to secure their fidelity. The Saxon element was strong in this part of Scotland from the first, and the connection between Lowland-Scotland and England was close until the efforts of Edward I to establish his supremacy roused the Scottish national spirit, and provoked a lasting alliance between Scotland and France against England.

§ 17. Edward's Claim of Supremacy.—The exact amount of supremacy which the English King had a right to assert over Scotland is far from clear. Scottish Kings had acknowledged the overlordship of Edward the Elder, William I. and Henry II., and over the ceded territories of Strathclyde and Lothian there were undoubted claims. But William the Lion had been freed, by Richard I., from the extensive promises he had made to Henry II.; and Edward I. was, at all events, not entitled to claim a full feudal suzerainty. Though the English King claimed more than his just rights, the Scots by refusing him his due were equally in error, and his interference had, moreover, been invited by the various candidates who claimed the Scottish crown after the death of Alexander III.'s heiress Margaret, the promised wife of Edward's son, the future Edward II. John Balliol, whom Edward established on the throne of Scotland by the *Award of Norham* (1292), was at first willing to do homage to the English King, in return for his aid, but finding Edward's claims of suzerainty irksome, he revolted, in 1295, and sought the alliance of France. He was driven from his throne by Edward, who declared his kingdom forfeit, removed the stone on which Scottish Kings had been wont to be crowned from Scone to Westminster, and entrusted the administration of the kingdom to Englishmen. Edward was strong enough to suppress the national rising under William Wallace (1297-8), and he was attempting to suppress that of Robert Bruce when he died in 1307. Under the feeble rule of Edward II. the Bruce was successful, and Scotland virtually regained her independence on the field of Bannockburn (1314). Henceforward the inroads of the Scots and their alliance with France were a constant source of trouble to the English Kings, and impressed upon them the necessity for an ultimate union.

III. CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND TO 1485.

§ 18. Introductory.—The continuity of the English institutions has already been indicated in relation to their Teutonic origin, and their great historical importance is demonstrated by later history. In the Tudor period, the most striking constitutional fact was the great power of the Crown. To understand the reasons for the Tudor "Dictatorship" it is necessary to see how the power of the Crown was built up, and to investigate the strength of its foundations. It will then become clear that it was based upon the removal or enfeeblement of all early restrictions upon the authority of the King, and that it sprang up in answer to an urgent demand, which

could be met in no other way, for strong government. For this purpose the Kingship, the Council, the Baronage, the Parliament and the Clergy will be studied in turn.

§ 19. **The Kingship.**—National Kingship in England was the outcome of the struggle with the Danes. But the Anglo-Saxon monarchy was elective in practice as well as in theory, and it was not until the hereditary principle, under the influence of feudal ideas, began to supersede the elective that the position of the King could be regarded as really strong. The fact that Edward I. reigned nearly two years before his coronation is a striking example of the growth of the hereditary idea of Kingship. Richard II.'s accession bears equal testimony to the strength of the new principle. he was accepted without demur although a minor, and in spite of having two uncles who had already taken a leading part in public affairs. Henry IV.'s title to the throne was essentially parliamentary: nevertheless he thought it necessary to put forward an hereditary claim, supported by nothing better than an old tradition. Edward IV.'s accession was a triumph for the hereditary principle. Henry VII. claimed the throne by right of descent, but his legal title, like that of Henry IV, was parliamentary. With the growth of the hereditary principle a sense of loyalty had also sprung up; and the Crown was further fortified by an elastic law of Treason.

§ 20. **The Council.**—A feudal monarch was little more than the greatest of his nobles, and it was both his custom and his privilege to seek advice. Only a weak king neglected to take counsel from his nobles and officials. In Norman times, the term *Curia Regis* covered the consiliar or administrative body as well as the financial and judicial staff the definite separation of functions was a slow growth. The history of the King's Council, as a separate and well-defined body, dates only from the last half of the fourteenth century; but, even in its former nebulous existence, it exercised considerable powers as an instrument of the royal will, and the constitutional opposition to the Crown in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was marked by attempts on the part, first, of the Baronage, and later, of the Parliament, to secure control over the Council either by the nomination of its members or by legislative enactment.

The Council was no mere instrument of the Royal Will: very often it acted as a check upon the Crown. Though nominally dependent on the King, appointed by him and liable to dismissal at his pleasure, it contained an independent element through the

unavoidable presence of bishops and hereditary officials, such as the Marshal and Chamberlain. By the reign of Richard II., it had "become a power co-ordinate with the King rather than subordinate to him." It could influence his action by advice and admonition, by the regulation of petitions, and by refusing to affix the Great Seal to his grants or Ordinances. After the growth of the idea that the impress of the Great Seal was necessary to the validity of all expressions of the Royal Will, and that it could only legally be affixed by the Chancellor, this was an important restriction on the power of the Crown. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Council was in full possession of extensive powers—financial, commercial, ecclesiastical and judicial. But with the depression of the nobles and the clergy under Henry VII., the Council lost all its power as against the Crown, and became a ready instrument for royal despotism. To extend its powers, especially the judicial, and to increase the number of councils, formed, therefore, an essential part of Tudor policy; so much so, indeed, that the Tudor Period has been called "the age of Government by Councils."

§ 21. The Feudal Baronage.—The history of the Baronage has two chief periods of interest.—(1) the defeat of their struggle for Feudal Government, (2) their gradual formation into a House of Lords. In times when the central power was weak, some measure of Feudal Government was the only possible means of keeping order, and in strong hands it was a fairly efficient system. But it was also dangerous. It reduced the central power to a shadow, and was eventually productive of much local disruption and disorder. As it appeared on the continent, it has been described as "a graduated system of jurisdiction based on land tenure, in which every lord judged, taxed and commanded the class next below him; in which abject slavery formed the lowest, and irresponsible tyranny the highest grade; in which private war, private coinage, private prisons, took the place of the imperial institutions of government." The tendency of every feudal state was to fall to pieces, and, though England was never so completely feudalized as the countries on the Continent, this tendency was clearly discernible before the Norman Conquest. One of the chief and most dangerous aspects of Feudalism, feudal jurisdiction, was already highly developed, and there was much territorial disintegration. Its other aspects attained their maximum growth after the Norman Conquest.

The Norman Kings strove to eliminate Feudalism from the government—though they systematized feudal land tenure and

developed feudal ideas in society. William the Conqueror averted the danger of local disruption by the division of the great fiefs and by the establishment of direct relations between the Crown and the under-tenants through the oath of allegiance exacted from them at Salisbury. Feudal jurisdiction was destroyed by the transference of the governing power of the earls to the sheriff, by the maintenance of the local courts, and by the wide extension of Royal Justice. The establishment of a central administrative machinery was completed by the connection of local and central government through a system of itinerant justices, and by Edward I.'s division of the King's Court in its judicial capacity into the Court of King's Bench for criminal cases, the Court of Exchequer for financial business, and the Court of Common Pleas for the hearing of law-suits. Feudalism was eliminated from the military system, indirectly, by the maintenance of a national force in the *fyrð*, and, directly, by the strict limitation of the number of castles, and by the commutation of military service for money introduced by Henry II. Feudalism was finally eliminated from the House of Lords when Edward I. emphasized the writ of summons as the necessary qualification for a seat in that assembly, it was weakened in land tenure by his *Statute of Quia Emptores*, and it disappeared from the lower ranks of society with the commutation of labour service for money in the fourteenth century.

§ 22. **The Lords.**—As far as the Feudal Baronage was concerned the victory of the Crown was complete by 1173, the date of the last feudal revolt. During the next century, the opposition of the Barons to the Crown took a constitutional form. In alliance with the nation and the clergy, they wrung the Great Charter from John, and for the next fifty years were occupied in trying (1) to expel foreign favourites; and (2) to devise some means of control over the King which should secure the observance of the Charters. After this period of constitutional action, the Barons again showed themselves to be oligarchical and selfish. Frequent intermarriages and the policy, begun by Henry III. and continued by Edward III., of granting out escheated lands to members of the royal house and marrying such members to baronial heiresses made them at once too few and too powerful; and they were, further, demoralized by the long French wars. The result was, that in the fifteenth century, England experienced a relapse into Feudalism which differed from the true Feudalism in the fact that it was not now only the lord's tenants who were his retainers, but also the small landowners.

The influence of the great barons was paramount in every department of the State. They practically commanded the chief military force of the country by their practice of granting indentures; they dominated Parliament by enforcing the return of their nominees at elections, and they hindered the course of justice and controlled the decision of the judges by bribery and intimidation. The Lancastrian government was helpless in the face of so much disorder. The country was distracted by private wars, by highway robberies, and by the family feuds and jealousies which eventually culminated in the Wars of the Roses, during which the barons committed "political suicide"

The history of the House of Lords, inseparable from that of the barons, can be traced back through the *Commune Concilium* of the Angevin Kings to the *Magnum Concilium* of the Norman Kings, and, in regard to its spiritual element at least, to the ancient Anglo-Saxon *Witan*. From the Norman Conquest onwards, the Barons had been wont to assist the King with the work of government in the Great Council, from which, by a process of gradual definition, the House of Lords eventually emerged. Until the Reformation, it consisted of the lay barons, the two archbishops, nineteen bishops, a number of abbots and a few priors. With the decline of the power of the barons and the clergy it suffered a temporary loss of influence, while the eventual predominance of the House of Commons was ensured when they acquired the power of the purse by establishing their sole right to initiate money grants (1407)

§ 23 **The Commons**—The Parliament called together by Edward I. in 1295 is usually spoken of as the "Model Parliament." It has been described as "partly a concentration of local machinery and partly an assembly of estates." It was the former because it performed for the whole country certain duties of taxation, defence and justice which had hitherto, for the most part, been done by the shire-moots. It was the latter because it included all the classes in the realm which had acquired sufficient wealth and leisure to aspire to political power, and had attained the cohesion implied in the term "estate" (*i.e.* "a class with property and interests of its own") It was a "Model" Parliament because it drew the outline of our modern constitution. Like a modern Parliament it consisted of *elected representatives, and was the union of all the estates of the realm at one time in one place for a definite purpose.*

This concentration was not accomplished till 1295. De Montfort nearly reached this point in his Parliament (1265), which contained

Magnates, Clergy and Commons ; but the number of magnates and commons was far from complete, and in the assemblies which followed there was always some deficiency. To its descent from the ancient shire-moots the Parliament owed its curiously composite character. "The union of the two classes, burgesses and knights, distinguishes our early parliamentary growth from that of every other country. Nothing then can be a more important fact, yet it is not for all that an isolated one, but a simple consequence of the composition of the shire itself." The union of the knights and burgesses in the Commons was the natural outcome of their union in the shire-moot. The Model Parliament differed from the Parliament of the Tudors in two important particulars. In the first place, the three Estates were then Clergy, Lords and Commons, but, since the retirement of the Lower Clergy to Convocation under Edward II., they have been the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal and the Commons. In the second place the House of Lords and the House of Commons had not yet separated. It appears, however, that the final separation took place not later than the reign of Edward III.

§ 24 **King and Parliament**—With the formation of a House of Commons, a great step from "local self-government" to "central self-government" had been taken. It remained only to work out for the new constitutional assembly the control of all the government. But for this "four more centuries and five revolutions" were necessary. It was temporarily attained during the early part of the fifteenth century—when the "Lancastrian Experiment" of "constitutional government" was tried. Parliament had already maintained that no extraordinary taxation, direct or indirect (direct by the *Confirmatio Cartarum* wrung from Edward I, 1297, indirect in 1340, 1362), could be levied without its consent, but the weak position of Henry IV. and his parliamentary title gave it the opportunity to acquire more extensive powers. It obtained control of taxation by establishing the sole right of the Commons to initiate money grants (1407), the principle that redress should precede supply (1401), the appropriation of supply and the audit of accounts (1406). It laid the foundation of parliamentary privilege by asserting its right to freedom of speech (1407). It secured control over legislation by the King's concession that statutes were in future to be made without alteration of the petitions on which they were based. It settled the struggle for the administrative power by putting the Council under the control of Parliament, and ensured ministerial responsibility by this and by its earlier and clumsier method of impeachment

(1376, 1386). It passed laws to guarantee purity of elections, and it claimed a share in foreign policy. But "constitutional progress had outrun administrative order," and the latter part of the fifteenth century saw the breakdown of parliamentary government. The attempt had been premature. Representation was becoming more and more incomplete, and the Commons lacked political insight (*e.g.* they insisted on the prosecution of a vigorous foreign policy while withholding the necessary supplies). Without the assistance of a strong executive, they were powerless against the local influence of the great nobles, supported by the practice of "maintenance and livery." Having shown themselves incapable of suppressing disorder at home or securing success abroad, the Commons emerged from the Wars of the Roses, weary of political power and desiring only a strong government for the restoration of peace and the development of commerce, while the Lords had lost power and prestige, and were diminished in numbers. Hence the Parliament of the Tudors was a subservient Parliament. Moreover, it was a Parliament easy to manipulate by outside influence. The incomplete system of representation, which had enabled the Barons to control the elections under the Lancastrians, made it equally possible for the Crown to secure the return of its own nominees through the sheriff or the nobility. The form of government established under the Lancastrians could not be altered, but it might be evaded, and the Tudors, like the Yorkists, found the task of evasion easy. But the struggle had not been in vain. Parliament was rich in precedent, and, sooner or later, it would assert once more, on a sounder basis, the powers it relinquished at the close of the fifteenth century.

§ 25. **Revenue and Taxation.**—The importance of Taxation in the history of England has been immense. "The constitutional history might, in fact, be written, so to speak, in terms of taxation." The system of justice, the representative system, and the first idea of constitutional opposition originated with new forms of taxation. Government cannot be carried on without money, and the ultimate power must rest with the holder of the purse-strings. In the first place, however, a distinction must be made between the ordinary, annual revenue of the Crown and the extraordinary revenue from taxation. The former consisted of the feudal incidents, the profits of justice, mintage, tolls and the Crown lands. In the Middle Ages the amount of this annual revenue was usually over-estimated, and the cry that "the King should live of his own" was often unfair, though it meant no more than that the royal revenue should suffice for the

ordinary expenses of government, while extraordinary expenses or special emergencies should be met by a grant. But, since the expenses of government steadily increased, and the ordinary annual revenue was little susceptible of increase and liable to diminution, this was obviously impossible. In Anglo-Saxon times, most of the functions of government were performed by personal service, and there was small need of taxation to raise money for the payment of official salaries. Taxation began with the Danegeld, which was levied as an occasional tax in pre-Conquest times, and was continued, and exacted with greater frequency, by William the Conqueror. Another early tax was the feudal aid, granted on three occasions: the marriage of the King's son or daughter, and for the King's ransom. Being in theory a voluntary offering, it originated the principle that taxation requires the subject's consent. Under Henry II the royal justice was more than supported by fees and fines: hence the Crown aimed steadily at its extension and its substitution for baronial justice. At the same time, the royal military force was supported by scutage. Henry's system of class taxation (*scutage, hrdage, tallage*) had an important influence on constitutional growth, since it encouraged the development of "estates." He also laid the foundation for future national taxation by his taxation of moveables (*Saladin Tithe*, 1188). In the next reign, taxation on moveables was renewed and applied to national purposes. Its constitutional effect was to promote the further growth of representative institutions; for the assessment on personalty was made by local representatives on whom the duty of collection was also laid.

The final stage was the union of the representatives in one place—Parliament—to vote money for emergencies. After this point had been reached, taxes on personalty and the customs were developed, while the old feudal land taxation died out. In the meantime, the Crown was taking over more and more of the work of government, more frequent grants became necessary; and more frequent parliaments, with more extensive powers, followed as a matter of course. The poverty of the Crown increased, despite the efforts of such kings as Edward III and Edward IV. to increase the customs by fostering trade. The French wars caused a deficit, the feudal dues were falling off, and Henry IV. had alienated Crown lands to win support. Moreover, the tax on moveables, formerly made on assessments, had become fixed in 1334, when it was arranged that each town and village should pay a composition equivalent to a tenth on moveables within the towns, and a fifteenth within the counties. Henceforward,

when Parliament voted one or two "Tenths and Fifteenths" there was a definite sum which each district was called upon to pay. But the total product of a "Tenth and Fifteenth" tended to diminish. Decayed towns and villages managed to obtain exemption from the tax, while prosperous districts had no additional charge laid upon them. Parliamentary grants were still infrequent and inadequate; and the final solution of the financial problem—annual subsidies and, therefore, annual parliaments, with all the constitutional control that this implied—was as yet, unthought of. This was the state of affairs at the accession of the Tudors. They skilfully postponed the crisis by various devices for raising money (notably by the exactions known as Benevolences—so-called voluntary gifts—begun by Edward IV. and condemned by statute under Richard III.) and left it for their successors to face.

§ 26. **The Clergy.**—The position of the Clergy under the Tudors cannot be fully grasped without a slight sketch of the previous history of the Church of England in respect to two main issues: (1) the decline in the popularity and influence of the Clergy which prepared the way for the Reformation, (2) the extent to which the mediæval Kings of England had been wont to assert their supremacy. Without the former, it is impossible to understand how the Clergy, once so influential, should have become so powerless: without the latter, no true estimate of the ecclesiastical policy of the Tudors can be formed. The power of the Clergy in early times needs little illustration. Apart from their spiritual influence, which was necessarily great, they wielded considerable political power. They had a majority of votes in the House of Lords, and constantly filled the great offices of State. They had united with the Barons and the people in the constitutional opposition of the thirteenth century, and had been instrumental in forcing *Magna Carta* on John. They were endowed with numerous privileges and immunities and great wealth. They possessed, moreover, their own ecclesiastical courts and had acquired the right to tax themselves in Convocation. In short, they formed a separate class outside the national organization—separate in deliberation, separate in jurisdiction, separate in taxation.

To this separation their later unpopularity was very largely due. During the Anglo-Saxon period the Church had been peculiarly insular and national, and, until the reign of Edward the Confessor, at all events, had had little connection with Rome. After the Norman Conquest it was brought into closer connection with the Papacy, and shared in the reformation of the Church which was the work

of Hildebrand. The idea of this Reformation was the complete separation of the Spiritual and the Temporal as regards both things and persons, and the predominance of the Spiritual over the Temporal. It meant, when translated into practice, the celibacy of the Clergy and the supremacy of the Pope. In England the movement bore fruit in William I's separation of the ecclesiastical and secular courts. His policy, though beneficial in some respects to the Church, resulted in the growth of an ecclesiastical spirit, and was the first step towards the alienation of the Clergy. As the gulf between them and the other classes of the community widened they became less national and more Papal in spirit, and began to share in the greater hostility felt for the Papacy. At the same time their wealth was viewed with jealousy and their corruption with disgust. The ecclesiastical courts, moreover, gained a not undeserved character for "inquisitorial, mercenary and generally disreputable" proceedings. Unpopular with the nation and, therefore, dependent on the Crown, the Clergy were, in spite of undoubted powers and privileges, defenceless before the approaching Reformation.

§ 27. **The Royal Supremacy.**—Throughout the Middle Ages the Kings of England had been careful to assert their power (1) as against the Pope, and (2) as against ecclesiastical persons within the realm. The struggle began with William I.'s refusal to do homage to Pope Gregory VII and continued until the sixteenth century Reformation. During this period the English Kings successfully asserted their right to decide which of two rival claimants to the Papacy should be acknowledged in England; to refuse to allow Papal Legates or Papal Bulls to enter the country; to check appeals to Rome; to control appointments to bishoprics, and to limit Papal taxation and patronage. It was during the captivity at Avignon that the chief anti-Papal legislation was passed. The Papal claims were not felt to be particularly burdensome until the subjection of the Pope to the French King aroused the English national feeling. Accordingly, it was in the reign of Edward III. that the *Statutes of Provisors* (1351) and of *Praemunire* (1353) were enacted. The first was directed against the Pope's habit of "providing" (i. e. nominating to benefices) clerics of his own selection, who were usually foreigners and absentees. The second forbade appeals to foreign courts under the penalty of outlawry and forfeiture of goods. These statutes do not appear to have been very effectual, but the *Statute of Praemunire* proved useful at a later date to Henry VIII. With regard to ecclesiastical persons within

the realm, the English Kings asserted their rights to sanction ecclesiastical legislation; to regulate ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and to control appointments to bishoprics as against the right of the chapters to elect (the chapters were still to elect, but they were to choose in accordance with the expressed wishes of the King). This then was the assertion of the Royal Supremacy as made by William I., Henry II., Edward I. and Edward III. Henry VIII. did not at first assert a wider claim than this.

§ 28. Constitutional Position at the Accession of Henry VII.—The constitutional position at the accession of Henry VII. may be briefly summarized. The *Clergy*, unpopular and more anxious for the preservation of their landed property than for the spiritual welfare of their flocks; the *Commons*, weary of factious politics and eager for wealth, were alike ready to submit almost unreservedly to any King who could give them a firm government, and the *Baronage*, weakened in numbers, still more in power and prestige by the civil wars, were less inclined to oppose the King collectively as an estate in Parliament than to support him individually as Councillors. Hence “the founder of the House of Tudor came, not certainly to an absolute but to a vigorous Prerogative—a Prerogative very little restrained by what Hallam calls—

“THE FIVE ESSENTIAL CHECKS ON THE ROYAL AUTHORITY”

- (i) *Taxation* —A King could levy no new tax except by the grant of his Parliament
- (ii) *Legislation* —The previous assent and authority of Parliament was necessary for every new law
- (iii) *Personal Freedom* —No man could be committed to prison but by a legal warrant specifying his offence, and by a usage nearly tantamount to constitutional right, he must be speedily brought to trial by means of regular sessions of gaol-delivery.
- (iv) *Trial by Jury*.—The fact of guilt or innocence on a criminal charge was determined in a public court, and in the county where the offence was alleged to have occurred, by a jury of twelve men, from whose unanimous verdict no appeal could be made civil rights, so far as they depended on questions of fact, were subject to the same decisions.
- (v) *Ministerial Responsibility* —The officers or servants of the Crown, violating the right of personal liberty or other right of the subject, might be sued in an action for damages, to be assessed by a jury, or in some cases were liable to a criminal process; nor could they plead any warrant or command in their justification—not even the direct order of the King.

For these securities were not all equally effective. The first was firmly established, but might be evaded; the second was quite as firmly established and less encroached upon; the three last exercised but a weak restraint upon the Crown. The Courts of Justice were not strong enough, and the juries, either through intimidation or through ignorance, returned verdicts to please the Crown.

IV. ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND TO 1485.

§ 29. **Agriculture.**—Some knowledge of economic history is essential. Without a slight sketch of the earlier agricultural system the reasons for the social disturbances of the sixteenth century will not be clear, and, without some knowledge of industry and commerce, finance, foreign policy, and the support of the middle classes to the Tudors cannot be fully understood. The history of the Anglo-Saxon agricultural system is very obscure. All that can be positively asserted is that land was held in scattered strips, and that there was common cultivation. In Norman times, however, the system was definitely manorial. In each manor fields were set apart for tillage which were called *open fields* because they had no fencing except when the crops were actually growing. They were not held in common, though often spoken of as common fields, but were divided into holdings, which again were subdivided into a number of half-acre strips scattered in different parts of the open fields. The lord of the manor had a considerable part of the open fields cultivated for his own use, and the holdings of the tenants probably lay intermixed with his demesne. In return for their holdings the villans had to contribute personal services and the labour of their stock for the cultivation of the lord's land. In the fourteenth century the manorial system began to break up. Money payments were substituted for personal services, and, on the whole, the lord found it to his interest to take money and to hire free labourers when they were wanted. But after the Black Death (1349) had destroyed practically one-half of the population, labour was very scarce, and the villans were able to demand higher wages. The old system of cultivation ceased to be profitable, and the lords found two courses open to them: they might either put in tenant-farmers who would pay rent and undertake to deal with the labourers; or they might enclose the open fields for sheep-farming and evict the villans. As the growing demand for wool made sheep-farming very profitable, the latter course was widely adopted towards the end of the fifteenth century; and this, together with the turning of the

lord's demesne from arable into pasture, and the consequent diminution of the number of labourers upon it, caused widespread social misery. The economic distress was aggravated by the break-up of the retinues of the great nobles, which was the work of Henry VII, and the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII. The result was the "sturdy beggar" of Tudor times and attempted remedies which culminated in the Poor Laws of 1597 and 1601.

§ 30. Industry and Commerce.—Industry in the Middle Ages was organized in Gilds or Associations of Merchants and Craftsmen in each town, whose duty it was to supervise and regulate trade, and to insure fair dealing and good work. But this method of trade regulation could only be successful while commerce was inter-municipal. The gilds were unable to cope with industry on a large scale for foreign trade, and when it increased to national dimensions their period of usefulness was over, and trade regulation became the province of the Central Government. Throughout the Middle Ages wool and wool-fells were almost the only articles of commerce which England produced for export; and her chief foreign trade was with Flanders and Guienne, that with Flanders being the more important. From Guienne she obtained wine: to Flanders she exported raw wool, and received the manufactured cloth in return. Wool, being the chief article of export, was also the main source of indirect taxation. Hence the English Kings were eager to develop the trade between England and Flanders. Edward III.'s assertion of a right to the throne of France, which began the "Hundred Years' War," was doubtless prompted by Philip VI.'s policy of intervention on behalf of the Count of Flanders in his struggle with the towns of Ghent and Bruges, a struggle which was a source of serious inconvenience to English trade, and injurious to Edward's income. England's commercial position was much strengthened when Edward III introduced Flemish weavers into England, and thus began the home manufacture of the better kinds of cloth. As the industry developed, England ceased to import cloth from abroad, though she still exported wool. Her imports were now chiefly spices and fine fabrics from the East Indies and Southern Europe: she was therefore importing luxuries while exporting necessities. Her wool was essential to Flanders, but she no longer needed Flemish cloth. Hence the strong position of Henry VII and the favourable commercial treaty he was able to make with that country. The Tudors, like Edward IV, were bidding for the support of the mercantile classes, and had political as well as financial reasons for fostering trade.

BOOK I.

THE TUDOR PERIOD, 1485-1603.

INTRODUCTION

§ 31. **Immediate Antecedents of the Tudor Period.**—In approaching the study of the Tudor Period of English History, it is necessary not only to possess a general knowledge of the past (§§ 1-30), but also to realize the most salient facts of the period immediately preceding our starting-point. These salient facts may be roughly reduced to about half-a-dozen—the uncertainty of the succession to the throne, the failure of English aggression in France; the Wars of the Roses (the direct result of the two foregoing facts), the decline of the Clergy, the struggle for supremacy between the Monarchy and the Baronage, and the oppression of the mass of the people by whichever of the contending parties happened to be uppermost for the time being. Of all these facts the most important in many ways was the uncertainty of the royal succession. Ever since the death of Edward III in 1377, his numerous descendants (Table, p xviii,) had been almost continuously engaged in open or secret struggles for the possession of the throne. Richard II, the only son of Edward III's eldest son, the Black Prince, had been deposed after a reign of twenty-two years by his cousin Henry of Lancaster; the House of Lancaster had then held the throne for sixty-two years; and it had been followed by the House of York, which had a better hereditary claim than the Lancastrians, but which, despite its strength and popularity, retained the crown less than a quarter of a century. The struggle between the two houses—practically ended when Richard III fell on Bosworth Field before a combination of Yorkists and Lancastrians—plunged England into a condition of exceptional weakness and disorder.

§ 32 **Forecast, 1485-1603**—The need of the English people for a strong and sensible government was met by the Tudor dynasty. There were five monarchs of the line, covering a span of one hundred and eighteen years; and the three of these whose reigns occupied nine-tenths of their period were well suited to the wants of the times and to the prejudices of their subjects. They established a strong monarchy by forcing the Baronage and the Clergy to bow to their will, and by conciliating the great mass of the people; and they were thus able to present a tolerably united front to their foreign neigh-

bours, and in the long run to vindicate the complete independence of England against all assailants. The enduring interest of the Tudor period lies in the objects, methods, and results—the last often quite different from those aimed at—of Tudor policy ; and these will form the main topics, the chief things to keep in view, throughout the following six chapters. There we shall see how our national story was affected, not only by the keen personal tempers of these five monarchs, and by the native facts of English soil and blood, but also by some general facts which changed the face of Europe.

§ 33. **The New Monarchy in Europe.**—The first of these changes was the rise of strongly centralized governments in the countries with which England was most closely concerned. For some centuries the kings in Western Europe had differed chiefly in dignity and prestige from the great nobles who were their vassals: in actual power they had often been equalled if not excelled. But during the latter half of the fifteenth century Louis XI. built up a strong monarchy in France, by bringing the great fiefs under the direct rule of the crown, while Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile not only united their kingdoms by marriage, but also extended and organized their dominions in such a way as to lay the foundations of the powerful kingdom of Spain. In each case the strength of the kingship lay largely in the acquisition of an effective control over the national church, and in dominating the nobility by the maintenance of a standing army backed by the new military weapon—artillery. If a “new monarchy,” similar in main outlines, had not arisen in England, that country must inevitably have fallen under the sway of one or other of these formidable neighbours, and become the dependency of a Continental Power. For lack of such a monarchy Italy and the Netherlands became the prey of foreigners ; and during the sixteenth century there was continually recurring the strong probability of a like fate for England. The most critical moment was in the middle of the century, when the marriage of the first Queen Regnant of England made the country a dependency of the House of Hapsburg. Mary’s speedy death without heirs made the Anglo-Spanish connection short-lived ; but the fact of its existence vitally affected the policy and position of England for the rest of the century. Philip II. was always hoping, some time and somehow, to regain control of the island kingdom. But on the whole the Tudors were able to keep England free from foreign entanglements and foreign domination. In the early Roman Republic, during times of great external peril,

"dictators" were instituted with exceptional powers ; and by analogy with the position of these old Roman officials the Tudor monarchy has been called a dictatorship.

§ 34. **The Renaissance :** (i) **Intellectual.**—The second change was intimately connected with this political transformation of Western Europe, but it was concerned with a wider and deeper range of facts than those of mere politics. It is called "the Renaissance," or "new birth," because it changed the life, thought, ideas, not merely of the rulers but also of the ruled in Western Europe, so much so that its inhabitants seem not to have simply altered this or that habit, but to have been born again—to have become something entirely different from what they were before. Such vast changes take time and cannot be precisely dated ; but the particular one before us turned on events that took place during the fifteenth century. The increasing pressure of the Ottoman Turks on the Eastern Roman Empire, culminating in their storming of its capital, Constantinople, in 1453, brought about more frequent intercourse between the "Greeks" and the "Latins", and, especially after 1453, many scholars to whom Greek was a living language were driven to take refuge in the West. The works and ways of thought of the old Greek writers were thus revealed to the learned men of the West, who for the most part had been ignorant of Greek during the last ten centuries. The new literature affected their minds much as a first day in the country affects a child accustomed to the endless streets and alleys of a great city—it was a "revelation," and they felt obliged to adapt their traditional view of things to make room for the new ideas. But this "renaissance" would have affected only a handful of leisured scholars, or would have spread beyond that circle so slowly as to be imperceptible, had it not been accompanied by inventions of a mechanical kind. In the fourteenth century the art of making paper had been discovered, and about the time of the fall of Constantinople the art of printing from movable types was brought to a practical stage. It was not till printing on paper was substituted for the costlier process of manual copying on parchment that the cheap and rapid dissemination of ideas became possible ; and both discoveries gave a great impulse to the national literatures that were growing up. The Renaissance affected the arts of sculpture, painting, music, architecture—these were the days of Raphael and Michael Angelo ; but in England its most notable influence was in the fields of learning and literature.

§ 35. **The Renaissance :** (ii) **Geographical.**—Alongside of

A detailed black and white map of the world, showing continents, oceans, and major cities. The map is oriented with North at the top. Key features include:

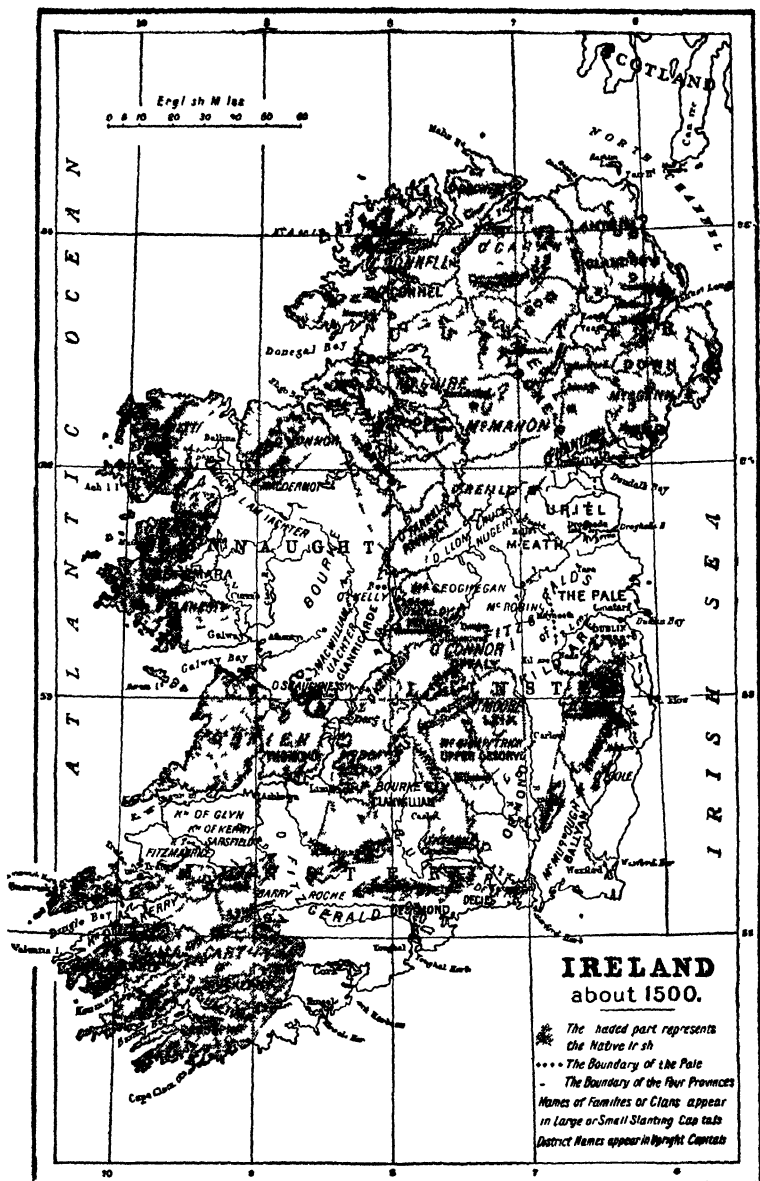
- Continents:** North America, South America, Africa, Europe, Asia, and Australia are clearly delineated.
- Oceans:** The Atlantic Ocean, Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean, and Southern Ocean are labeled.
- Latitude and Longitude:** The Equator and Tropic of Cancer are marked. Longitude lines are shown as vertical lines, and latitude lines as horizontal lines.
- Major Cities:** Numerous cities are labeled, including New York, London, Paris, Moscow, Tokyo, Sydney, and Melbourne.
- Geographical Features:** The Arctic Circle and Antarctic Circle are indicated. The Strait of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal are also shown.
- Map Style:** The map uses a standard projection with a grid of latitude and longitude lines. The text is in a serif font, and the map is framed by a double-line border.

DIRECTIONS—The chief voyages are shown roughly by *dotted* lines. The names of navigators are printed in *letters sloping backwards*. The dates are or *first discovered*, except where otherwise indicated. Coastlines and rivers shown dotted were unknown to Europeans at the end of the *seventeenth* century. Philip II.'s dominions (Spanish and Portuguese) are *shaded*.

these artistic movements there was going on a series of geographical discoveries which completely upset the popular notions about the size and shape of the earth. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the only parts of the earth well known to Europeans were their own continent and the coasts of the Mediterranean ; the bulk of Asia was known only by the stories of rare travellers ; the size of Africa and the existence of America were unsuspected. The Crusaders had familiarized Western Europe with the fact that the East, vaguely called "India and Cathay," was full of things which made life more comfortable , and the trading cities of Italy, Venice, Genoa, etc., had grown rich by buying the good things of the East from their Persian and Arab partners on the shores of the Levant and Black Sea, and distributing them throughout central Europe. Partly out of a desire to share this lucrative traffic, partly from a wish to evangelize the heathen, other peoples tried to discover different routes to the East ; and in 1498 the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, reached the coast of India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Meanwhile Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sailor in the service of Isabella of Castile, believing the earth to be spherical, had tried to reach the Indies by sailing westwards, and in so doing had in 1492 come upon the islands still known as the West Indies. Columbus had failed in the main object of his voyage—the discovery of a practical route to the East , but his voyage soon led to the discovery of the American continents—the northern by John Cabot in 1497, the southern by Alvarez Cabral, a Portuguese, in 1500. One short decade of geographical discoveries thus doubled the size of the world as known to Europe, and gave the kingdoms of Castile and Portugal a leading position in the enlarged world.

§ 36. The Reformation.—The various movements outlined in the last three sections had their several developments which we shall touch upon in the course of the narrative , and each influenced the movement which forms the chief fact in the history of the sixteenth century and which is called the Reformation. The principal professed object of the Reformation was the improvement of the Church. That is a common object of earnest men of all creeds and of all ages ; but in the sixteenth century there was made an unusually large number of vigorous attempts, which had a far-reaching effect. In order to understand this, it is necessary to realize that in Western Europe "the Church" was the collective name for the whole body of baptized inhabitants (i. e. practically the entire population, save Jews) ; and that this body was bound together by the

profession of the same religious beliefs, by participation in similar religious ceremonies, and by subjection to the authority of religious officials ranging from the parish-priest up to the Bishop of Rome. But the members of the Church belonged to various races and countries, differed in temperament and occupation, and were influenced by interests that often were, or seemed to be, incompatible with the religion which was professedly their first care ; and during the fifteenth century these differences tended to become more prominent than the tie of fellowship in a single church. The attempts to reorganize the Church after the Great Schism by means of General Councils, and the attempts to rally the Christians of the West to make common cause against the advancing Turk, both alike failed because men were absorbed in their own personal, class, or political interests. The growth of compact states, the outburst of new ideas, and the discovery of new lands brought in their train an increased desire to adapt the Church to the new conditions, and at the same time made the sixteenth-century attempts to reform the Church less conservative, less tender of traditions, more impatient of obstacles than those of the previous age. Single-minded attempts to make men better became intermingled with the jealousies of clergy and laity, of German and Latin peoples, of Pope and King , and the result was that the single loosely organized Church in the West broke up into a multitude of churches, each claiming to be a "true church," and each, for the most part, refusing to recognize its neighbour. Some of these churches remained in communion with Rome, and some separated from it and became known by the general name of *Protestant* . in either case, they each strove to obtain the mastery of the secular authorities in their several regions. The processes and the results of the ecclesiastical revolution varied infinitely in different lands , but its main tendency was to reveal, intensify, and increase the racial, intellectual, social, and political divisions of Western Europe that had heretofore been partly concealed by a common and mutually recognized Catholicism. The great religious reformers of the day—such as Martin Luther, the German of Saxony, John Calvin, the Frenchman of Geneva, and Ignatius Loyola, the Spanish Jesuit—each in his own way influenced England ; but on the whole the English Reformation retained an insular distinction of its own. It produced several notable ecclesiastical statesmen but not a single great religious reformer , it was far more a political than a religious affair ; it was controlled by, and made to promote the interests of, the Tudor Kingship.



CHAPTER I.

HENRY VII, 1485-1509.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY—Born at Pembroke, January 28, 1457, assumed the crown of England, August 22, 1485, crowned King, October 30, 1485, married to Elizabeth (*d* 1503), daughter of Edward IV, January 18, 1486, died at Richmond, Surrey, April 21, 1509, buried in Westminster Abbey. For his parents and descendants, see Tables, pp xviii, xix.

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	SCOTLAND	TURKEY
Innocent VIII (1484)	Frederick III (1440)	Charles VIII (1483)	Ferdinand and Isabella (1479)	James III (1430)	Bajazet II (1481- 1512)
Alexander VI (1492)	Maximilian I (1443)	Louis XII (1498)	Philip I, <i>Castile</i> (1504-1506)	James IV. (1488)	
Pius III (1503)					
Julius II (1503)					

C. TOPICS OF THE REIGN

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| <p>(i) International: <i>relations with—</i></p> <p>(1) France §§ 41, 42</p> <p>(2) Spain §§ 38, 41, 48</p> <p>(3) Scotland §§ 45-48</p> <p>(4) Flanders §§ 38, 39, 42, 43, 45,
49</p> <p>(5) The Empire § 41</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional.</p> <p>(1) Title and Dangers §§ 37, 38</p> <p>(2) Rivals §§ 38, 39, 42, 43, 45,
47</p> <p>(3) Home Policy §§ 40, 50</p> <p>(4) Taxation §§ 42, 46, 50.</p> <p>(5) Ireland §§ 39, 42, 44.</p> |
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I THE PERIOD OF INSTABILITY, 1485-1497

§ 37. **Henry's Title and Coronation, 1485-6.**—Henry VII. formally claimed the crown of England by virtue of descent, and by the "true judgment of God" in giving him the victory. As a matter of fact he always dated his reign from the day before the battle of Bosworth (*i.e.* from August 21), he was not crowned till the end of October; and it was not till November that Parliament, without entering into the grounds of its action, declared the crown to rest in

him and his heirs. Parliament also removed the attainders on his friends, attainted his enemies, and gave him a considerable revenue for life; and during its Christmas recess Henry fulfilled his engagement to marry Elizabeth of York. His conduct was designed to show clearly that he owed his crown neither to Parliament nor to his wife, while at the same time he secured himself in possession by their support.

§ 38. Henry's Position, and its Perils, 1485-1497.—Henry's father had been the step-brother and intimate friend of Henry VI.: his mother, Margaret Beaufort, represented a younger branch of the House of Lancaster (Table, p. xviii). Though technical doubts hung round the statutory legitimization of the Beauforts in Richard II.'s reign, no partisan of Lancaster was likely to raise against Henry the formally better claims of the descendants of John of Gaunt's second marriage—who were Spaniards and foreigners (Table, p. xviii). Henry was the nearest available representative of the House of Lancaster whatever the flaws in his title, he was safe enough so far as that party was concerned. But by insisting on his Lancastrian title, Henry exposed himself to Yorkist attack until he could prove that he had the strength to hold his own, and the common-sense to rule impartially. The very ease with which he had won the crown encouraged other dynastic adventurers to emulate him; and the first twelve years of his reign were occupied by almost continuous movements in favour of Yorkist rivals. Assuming the two sons of Edward IV. to be dead, the next representative of the House of York was Edward, Earl of Warwick, only son to the Duke of Clarence (Table, p. xviii). Henry VII. took the precaution of keeping Warwick in the Tower, while another possible Yorkist claimant—John, Earl of Lincoln, whom Richard III. had named heir—was allowed to remain at liberty. Neither of these claimants was very formidable without the support of their aunt Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Burgundy (Table, p. xviii).

§ 39. The Earl of Lincoln and Lambert Simnel, 1487.—During Henry's progress through the kingdom there was, in 1486, an abortive rising under Richard's friend, Lord Lovell, but the first serious attempt to oust Henry VII. was made by John, Earl of Lincoln. Lincoln, however, did not appear as a principal, but contented himself with aiding an effort made on behalf of the Earl of Warwick. Early in 1487 there appeared in Dublin a young man whose real name was Lambert Simnel, the son of an Oxford organ-builder, but who claimed to be the Earl of Warwick. The

pretender or his advisers chose Ireland for the starting-place because Ireland had long been connected with the House of York: Lionel, Duke of Clarence, had married an Irish heiress and had had a distinguished career as Lord-Lieutenant, and in more recent times Richard, Duke of York, had proved a capable and popular administrator in Ireland. Simnel was accepted and crowned as King "Edward VI," by the Fitz-Geralds and other Anglo-Irish notables of the Pale.* He then crossed over to Lancashire with a body of Irish troops, and a small force of professional soldiers brought over from Flanders by the Earl of Lincoln, and led by Martin Swartz. The invaders marched into the Midlands, but, despite their abstention from plunder, did not attract many English adherents; and they were overthrown at Stoke on the Trent—sometimes called East Stoke, to distinguish it from Stoke-upon-Trent in Staffordshire—near Newark. Lincoln fell on the field, Lovell disappeared, and Simnel was given a post in the kitchen of the King whom he had sought to supplant. Henry VII. deliberately sought to end the rancorous bloodshed of recent years by a policy of clemency.

§ 40. *The Court of Star Chamber, 1487.*—After the battle of Stoke, Henry VII felt strong enough to show, more distinctly than he had hitherto ventured to do, that he had no intention of sinking to be the mere tool of the noble factions who had momentarily agreed in setting him on the throne, and who might reasonably be expected to unite in displacing him if he gave signs of being independent. Now that he could be gracious without the imputation of fear, he had his wife crowned in state, and thus sought to bind the loyalty of the Yorkists to his and her son Arthur. In the Parliament sitting at the time of this coronation, Henry passed an Act constituting a special court to prevent and punish those kinds of offences against public order which were most practised by large landowners, especially "maintenance" and "livery." Such offenders were, as a rule, so powerful in their own neighbourhood that they could overawe local courts and local juries: the new court therefore was central, was composed of seven prominent officials including the Chancellor and the Treasurer, and required no jury. Practically the court thus constituted had the kind of jurisdiction long exercised by the Privy Council; and it soon came to bear the same name as the Privy Council had borne in its judicial capacity (derived from the decorations of the room in the Palace at West-

* This was the name given in the fifteenth century to the region round Dublin to which English rule had gradually become restricted.

minster where it sat)—“Court of Star Chamber.” In setting up the court by statute rather than by prerogative, Henry was only doing what the Tudors were so often to do—viz. using Parliament in order to give his wishes the appearance of general approval by all classes (§§ 61, 117).

§ 41. **The Affairs of Brittany, 1488-1492.**—In the five years that followed the battle of Stoke foreign affairs engaged a large measure of Henry’s attention. During his exile he had had close relations both with the King of France and with the King’s vassal, the Duke of Brittany: each had helped Henry as a person who might be of use some day. The Duke was growing old, and, having no sons, was anxious about the future of his territory; the King was hoping to incorporate the duchy with the kingdom of France, as so many fiefs had been incorporated during the century; and both appealed to England. The further consolidation of France was contrary to the interests of Henry and of his chief contemporaries—Ferdinand and Isabella, who jointly ruled Aragon and Castile, and Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, who claimed the regency of the Netherlands as being the father of the heir of the Valois dukes of Burgundy (Table, p. 45). Many projects had been formed, and even embodied in treaties, for common action against France; but it was not till long after Charles VIII. of France had settled the question by marrying Anne, the orphaned heiress of Brittany, that Henry made war outright against France. A month’s campaign between Calais and Boulogne was closed by the *Treaty of Estaples* (1492). Like Edward IV. in 1474, Henry VII had revived his claims to the kingdom of France, and now agreed to drop their active prosecution in return for a money payment.

§ 42 **Appearance of Perkin Warbeck, 1491-2**—One of the conditions of the Anglo-French treaty was that each party should cease harbouring or aiding rebels against the other; and in accordance therewith Charles turned adrift a new Yorkist pretender who had made his appearance about a twelvemonth previously. This was Peter—commonly known as Peterkin or Perkin—Warbeck, the son of a Flemish boatman of Tournay. The frequency, even after Stoke, of Yorkist plots and risings against war-taxes—especially a heavy *benevolence* levied in 1491—betokened the existence of considerable discontent in England; and this discontent encouraged the hopes of dynastic adventurers. Accordingly Warbeck was easily persuaded by the men of Cork to personate Richard, the younger son of Edward IV. Not being very well received in Ireland, he

gladly accepted an invitation to the Court of France ; and after the *Treaty of Estaples*, he made his way north to Flanders, where his "aunt" Margaret had a certain amount of influence.

§ 43. **Perkin Warbeck in Flanders, 1493-1495**—Flanders and England were still as dependent as ever on each other for commercial prosperity, but commercial considerations were liable to be sacrificed to the dynastic interests of their rulers. Flanders, like the rest of the Netherlandish possessions of the ducal house of Burgundy, owned the sway of the representative of that house, Philip, Archduke of Austria (Table, p. 45). At the time of Warbeck's advent, Philip was still a minor, and, in the absence of his father, Maximilian, his dominions were largely controlled by his mother's step-mother, Margaret of York. She now welcomed Warbeck as her real nephew, and called him "the White Rose of England." In 1493 Henry retorted by forbidding his subjects to hold commercial intercourse with the Flemings, and though he thereby caused some inconvenience to his own people, he caused more to the Flemings. At the end of the following year he suppressed an extensive Yorkist plot, and brought to the block its chief participator, Sir William Stanley, who had placed the crown on his head at Bosworth. The *Statute of the de Facto King*, passed in 1495, was an endeavour to give legal security to persons wavering in their allegiance: it provided that obedience to the actual, or *de facto*, King for the time being should not afterwards be considered treason against a successful rival, claiming to be the rightful, or *de jure*, King. Henry VII. also exposed Warbeck's pretensions by publishing, for the first time, the confessions of the murderers of the two sons of Edward IV., and conferred the title assumed by Warbeck—Duke of York—upon his own son Henry, afterwards Henry VIII.

§ 44. **Ireland and Poynings' Law, 1495**—In the autumn of 1494 young Henry was created Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and Henry VII. appointed one of his most active officials, Sir Edward Poynings, to act as his son's first Lord-Deputy. Poynings made the King's power felt over a large part of the island—not only within the limits of the Pale, but also among the Hibernian and Irish chiefs of Leinster and Munster. He arrested and sent over to England the Earl of Kildare, the late Deputy, who had supported Sumnel and had intrigued with Warbeck. He made military demonstrations which gave an appearance of strength to the royal power. Above all, at the turn of the year 1494-5, he assembled a Parliament which passed the notable *Statute of Drogheda*. Part of this con-

sisted of a re-enactment of the *Statute of Kilkenny* of 1366 and other Acts restraining the tendency of the Hibernianders to adopt the language, dress, and customs of the native Irish. The more important part—usually known as "*Poynings' Law*"—aimed at the legal subordination of the Irish to the English home government: English Law as it stood was to be in force for Ireland; and no Irish Parliament was to be held, and no laws to be proposed in Ireland, or other business entertained, without the sanction of the English Privy Council. Having thus overawed those parts of Ireland which professed allegiance to the King of England, and definitely formulated the relations which were to subsist between England and her dependency for nearly three hundred years (until 1782), Poynings was recalled and replaced by the now loyal Kildare. Henry VII. had no time or inclination to attempt to govern Ireland well he was content to have her kept quiet, and Kildare could achieve that end as well as an English official.

§ 45. **Warbeck's Wanderings, 1495-6**—In June 1495 Warbeck set forth from Flanders with 14 ships and 1000 men supplied by Margaret. He lost nearly one-fifth of her forces in a descent on the English coast near Deal, and Poynings beat back his attack on Waterford with a loss of three ships. In November 1495 he proceeded to Scotland, where James IV, who had throughout held correspondence with him, gave him a kinswoman of his own, Katharine Gordon, in marriage, and in return for the promise of Berwick and a money-payment, engaged to invade England on his behalf. The invasion was made in September 1496, and proved a complete failure.

§ 46 **The Cornish Insurrection, June 1497**—The Scots King made preparations for a second incursion, and Henry VII.'s sixth Parliament voted him liberal supplies to make preparations for the defence of the northern counties. These taxes roused the ire of the Cornishmen, who failed to see why they should pay to resist an invasion which could not hurt them, and in May 1497 they took up arms and resolved to seek the aid of the men of Kent, whose share in the risings of Tyler and Cade had won them the reputation of being "the freest people in England" (cf § 96). They marched up to London; and on June 17 they were routed on Blackheath by the royal forces. In accordance with Henry's usual moderation none but the leaders were executed.

§ 47. **The End of Warbeck and Warwick, 1497-1499.**—The news of the Cornish rising, and the continuance of the discontent in

those parts, suggested to Warbeck and his patron a change of plan: Warbeck was to sail to Cornwall and renew the insurrection there, while the Scots were simultaneously to invade the North. Warbeck, however, loitered at Cork so long that the Scots invasion had been beaten back by Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, before Warbeck landed at Whitsand Bay near Land's End (September 1497). Men gathered round the standard of "Richard IV."; but after a fortnight's advance he fled from near Taunton to take sanctuary at the abbey of Beaulieu, near Southampton. He surrendered and was imprisoned, his wife received a place at Court; and his Cornish followers were heavily fined. Two years later Warbeck entered into arrangements with his fellow-prisoner, Warwick, to escape from the Tower. The attempt was counted to them for treason, and they were executed in November 1499.

II. DOMESTIC SECURITY AND FOREIGN ENTERPRISE, 1497-1509.

§ 48. **The Spanish and Scottish Marriages, 1501-1503** — The capture of Warbeck ended the chances of Henry VII.'s displacement, and so brought to an effective close the wars of the Roses. Henry had always directed his policy towards broader ends than mere self-preservation; but until he could prove his stability he could not expect to be taken quite seriously by his neighbours. After the removal of Warbeck and Warwick, and the repeated proof that Henry was stronger than his enemies, two marriage alliances which he had long been seeking were quickly brought to a head. In November 1501 his elder son Arthur was married to Katharine, youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; and in January 1503 his elder daughter Margaret was married to James IV., King of Scots. The former marriage—first arranged as far back as 1489—lasted only five months, being dissolved by the death of Arthur in April 1502, but it led to important complications in the following reign: the latter led, just one hundred years later, to the union of the two kingdoms in Britain. The immediate importance of both marriages lay in the recognition of the Tudor dynasty among the reigning houses of Europe.

§ 49. **Relations with Flanders, 1496-1506** — The year of the Scots marriage was also marked by the deaths of Henry VII.'s wife Elizabeth, and of his inveterate foe, Margaret of Burgundy. Margaret had been unable to do much harm after her equipment of Warbeck: the Archduke Philip, who had now taken power into his own hands, found it expedient to arrange for the restoration of

commercial intercourse between his subjects and those of Henry VII. The Anglo-Flemish treaty of 1496 was modified in a treaty pressed upon Philip ten years later in favour of the English. the two treaties are commonly known by the names given them by Bacon—*Magnus Intercursus* and *Malus Intercursus*, the “Great Intercourse” and the “Bad Intercourse.” The treaty of 1506 was the most important of the vast number of treaties and negotiations which filled the second and peaceful half of Henry VII.’s reign. Some of these treaties were designed to enlarge the commercial opportunities of Englishmen: some were designed to prevent the rise to a supreme position of any one among the powerful princes of Western Europe. Henceforth Commerce and Balance of Power tended more and more to become the leading objects of English foreign policy. Many of Henry VII.’s later negotiations were concerned with projects for his second marriage; but he died a widower in April 1509.

§ 50. *Henry’s Character and Work.*—The personality and the achievements of Henry VII were neither romantic nor picturesque; yet both left their mark on the story of England, and well deserve the memorial they have in the Chapel in Westminster Abbey where his body rests. He had the gift to see what wanted doing, and the will to do it; and as he had a just estimate of his own powers, he usually succeeded in his purposes. His combination of tact, gentleness, and firmness won for England domestic peace and a creditable position among the kingdoms of Europe. While Cardinal Morton—whom he made Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor—was alive, he summoned no fewer than six Parliaments, after Morton’s death in 1500 he summoned only one, but whether he made use of Parliament or ignored it, he aimed steadily at reducing the facilities of the landowners for petty local tyranny and at enlarging the opportunities of the yeoman and trader for pursuing the arts of peace. It was after the death of Morton and Queen Elizabeth that the financial exactions of the King’s ingenious legal agents, Sir Richard Empson and Sir Edmund Dudley, won for Henry VII. a reputation for avarice which is almost as difficult to substantiate as Richard III.’s unmitigated wickedness. Besides what Henry did for his own generation there are at least three notable things which he did for the future: his marriage alliance with Scotland; his constitutional arrangements in Ireland; and his encouragement of John Cabot’s expedition which, sailing from Bristol in 1497, discovered Newfoundland and gave Europeans—so far as we know for certain—their first glimpse of the mainland of North America.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY VIII. AND CARDINAL WOLSEY, 1509-1529.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY—Born at Greenwich, June 28, 1491, held the title, Duke of York, from 1494 till 1502, when he was created Prince of Wales; betrothed in June 1503 to his elder brother Arthur's widow, Katharine of Aragon, whom he married in June 1509, for his five later marriages, each of which had political importance, see §§ 65, 79, 84, succeeded his father as King of England, April 22, 1509, crowned, June 24, 1509, died at Whitehall, January 28, 1547, buried at Windsor For family connections, see Table, p xix

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE.	FRANCE	SPAIN	SCOTLAND	TURKEY.
Julius II (1508) Leo X (1513)	Maximilian (1493)	Louis XII (1498)	Ferdinand (1479) (King in Aragon, Regent in Castile, after 1504)	James IV (1488)	Bajazet II (1481) Selim I (1512)
Hadrian VI (1522) Clement VII (1523)	Charles V (1519-1556)	Francis I (1515-1547)	Charles I (1516-1556)	James V (1513)	Suleiman I (1520-1566)

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

(i) International: relations with—

- (1) Papacy §§ 53, 54, 58
- (2) Empire §§ 53, 56, 57, 58
- (3) Spain §§ 52, 53, 56, 57, 58
- (4) France §§ 53, 56, 57, 58
- (5) German Protestants §§ 56, 57
- (6) Scotland ; 53, 57

(ii) Constitutional.

- (1) Royal Prerogative § 55
- (2) Royal Succession · §§ 51, 58, 59
- (3) Ministers §§ 52, 54, 59.
- (4) Parliament §§ 55, 57.
- (5) Church · §§ 54-56
Insurrections § 57.

I. LEAGUES AGAINST FRANCE, 1509-1525.

§ 51. **Henry's Character and Position, 1509.**—Henry VIII. succeeded his father at the age of eighteen. He was a handsome and accomplished young man, well-trained in both mind and body. His easy manners and sprightliness won him a general popularity

which he never wholly lost: his combination of manliness and culture encouraged the best in the land to expect great things from his rule, and to hope that he might actually bring to pass some of the nobler dreams of the leaders of the Renaissance (§ 60). Henry had many things in his favour, besides his character. He entered into the fruits of his father's labours—the possession of a full treasury, a recognized position among the princes of Europe, and a sure title. He was the first English king since Edward III. whose claim to the throne was neither disputable nor disputed; and one of the main features of his policy all through was to secure for his successor a title as unquestioned as his own (§§ 58, 72).

§ 52. **Henry's First Acts, 1509-1510**—Henry began his royal career by two acts which enhanced his popularity and illustrate leading features in his general policy. In 1509 he married Katharine of Aragon, his brother's widow; and in 1510 he sent Empson and Dudley (§ 50) to the block. The marriage expressed Henry's continued adhesion to the Anglo-Spanish alliance, but was to prove a fruitful source of trouble in after years: the treatment of his father's servants was typical of his own constant attitude to his ministers—he worked them hard as long as he found them useful, and then posed as a national benefactor by sacrificing them to the enemies whom their very efficiency had procured for them.

§ 53. **The Holy League, 1511-1514**—Henry was ambitious of military glory and of taking a more prominent part in the affairs of Europe than his cautious and thrifty father had cared to take. He found his opportunity in the turmoil into which Italy had been plunged by Charles VIII.'s epoch-making invasion of 1494. France and Spain were competing for the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan; the Emperor Maximilian was hoping to reincorporate northern Italy with the Empire, and Pope Julius II, having humbled the republic of Venice by means of the *League of Cambray* (1508-9), was now eager to expel the French from Italy. For this purpose he induced Venice, Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Henry VIII. to join him in a *Holy League* against France. England's share in the war was an expedition to Gascony in 1512, which helped Ferdinand to make himself master of the southern part of the kingdom of Navarre; a naval victory off Brest in the same year; and an invasion of northern France in 1513, in which Henry himself took part. While besieging Teroenne his forces routed a body of French cavalry in a fight at Guinegate, known as the "Battle of Spurs." A fortnight later the Earl of Surrey thrust back a Scottish invasion by a victory at

Flodden, in which James IV. lost his life. In August 1514, the warlike Pope being dead, and Henry growing weary of being made a catspaw by his allies, peace was concluded between England and France: Louis XII. promised to pay a million crowns in twenty annual instalments, and married Henry's youngest sister, Mary. On the last day of the year Louis died. His widow married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (Table, p. xix).

§ 54. Rise of Thomas Wolsey, 1513-5.—Such successes as Henry VIII. had won in this war were mainly due to the administrative abilities of Thomas Wolsey. He was the son of an Ipswich grazier, had just passed his fortieth year, and was in holy orders. During the war his promotions followed one another quickly; in 1515 Henry bestowed upon him the Great Seal, and prevailed on the Pope to send him a Cardinal's hat; and two years later he was created Papal Legate over the head of his ecclesiastical superior, the Archbishop of Canterbury. He thus gathered into his hands the highest powers in England, both ecclesiastical and civil; and his immense capacity for work enabled him not only to attend to every department of politics, but also to find time to join heartily in the brilliant social life of the Court.

§ 55. Wolsey's Domestic Policy, 1515-1529. During the fourteen years of his predominance, Wolsey strove to put down abuses, to repress indolence and dishonesty in public officers, to make the administration at once efficient and economical, and above all, to retain the favour of the King, without whom he could do nothing. He used his legatine powers to diminish in England those ecclesiastical abuses which were causing revolutionary movements in Germany: with this end in view, he suppressed ill-conducted monasteries, and diverted their revenues to the endowment of Cardinal College, Oxford—which, under its diminished form as Christ Church, still bears as its badge a Cardinal's hat—and other places of education. In his civil activity he was emphatically an administrator, not a legislator. he developed the Privy Council—especially on its judicial side, the Court of Star Chamber—and, as far as lay in his power, filled it, not with dignified personages, but with men of practical capacity. On the other hand, like Henry VII. in his later years, he dispensed with Parliament, finding it a not sufficiently submissive instrument. In the first six years of the reign, a Parliament assembled each year: during Wolsey's ministry the only Parliament was that which he was compelled by urgent need of supplies to summon in 1523.

§ 56. Wolsey's Contemporaries, 1515-1519.—Wolsey's rise to power synchronized with the appearance of several vigorous personalities on the public stage in Western Europe. In 1515 Louis XII. was succeeded on the throne of France by his cousin Francis I.; in 1516 Ferdinand of Aragon was succeeded by his grandson, Charles I. of Spain, who, three years later, was elected Emperor as Charles V.; and in 1517 Martin Luther, an Austin friar of Wittenberg in Saxony, issued against the Papal system of indulgences a manifesto which is conventionally regarded as the beginning of the Reformation (but see § 36). The political connection between these various persons may be briefly summarized thus. Francis I. and Charles V. carried on their ancestral rivalries; their chief field of action was Italy; the Pope needed money to maintain his princely prestige against them, and so resorted to the financial expedients which Luther denounced; Luther's growing influence helped to increase the divisions in Germany, which made that kingdom a source of weakness rather than of strength to Charles V., and both Wolsey and his master had to reckon with all these facts in framing their foreign policy. ✕

§ 57. Wolsey's Foreign Policy, 1520-1525.—Henry aspired to make himself the arbiter between his two powerful contemporaries on the Continent. Wolsey, in furthering this aspiration, also hoped, by the aid of one or other of them, to attain the Papacy. Both Englishmen were courted by the rival monarchs; and in 1520-1, various interviews took place, the most famous of which was that between Henry and Francis, near Calais, in June 1520, known as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." At first Henry leaned more to the side of Charles V.: they were closely connected by marriage (Table, p. 45); their forbears had been politically allied against France, (§ 41); and the traditional policy of England had long been hostile to France. Moreover, Charles V.'s relations with the Pope commended him to both Henry and Wolsey. the King, who had had special training in theology, proved his orthodoxy by attacking Luther in that *Defence of the Seven Sacraments* which won for him from the Pope the title *Fidel Defensor* ("Defender of the Faith"), still attached to the English crown, the Cardinal preferred Charles V., not only because he was a monarch of unimpeachable orthodoxy, but also because his strength in Italy made his influence greater than that of Francis in a Papal conclave. The alliance between Henry and the Emperor lasted for some five or six years; but the English share in the fighting was confined to raiding across the Channel and over the Scottish Borders. The chief result of the

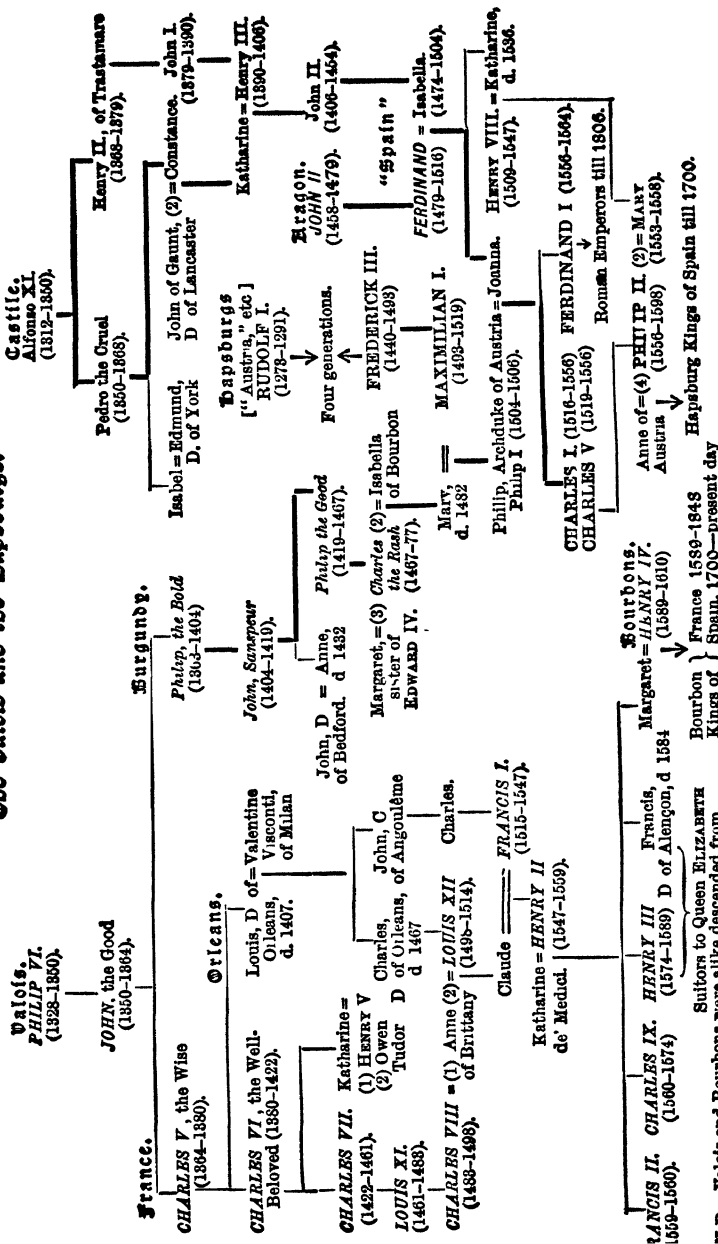
war for England was increased Government demands for money, which were successfully resisted by Parliament in 1523, and by popular insurrection in Suffolk two years later.

II. ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE, 1525-1529.

§ 58. **Opening of the Divorce Question, 1527-1529.**—The capture of Francis at the battle of Pavia, 1525, made his rival too powerful; and in 1527, Henry and Francis made the sack of Rome by Imperial troops an excuse for forming an alliance against Charles. To cement the alliance, a French marriage was arranged for Henry's eleven-year-old daughter Mary. It was during these negotiations that her legitimacy was first *publicly* called in question. Henry's children by Katharine of Aragon had all died, save Mary; and he had consequently become anxious about the succession. The paramount necessity that there should be a visible male heir to the crown was the most obvious lesson to be drawn from English history during the fifteenth century, Henry had already shown his observance of the fact by putting to death two possible collateral claimants—Edmund de la Pole in 1513, and the Duke of Buckingham in 1521 (Table, p. xviii), and it is therefore not surprising that the death of all Katharine's children, except Mary, should have caused Henry qualms of conscience about the validity of his marriage with his deceased brother's wife. He had obtained a dispensation for the marriage from the Pope, and he now applied to the same authority to annul the dispensation. Clement VII answered the application by appointing a Legatine Commission, consisting of Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, to examine the case: it sat in London during June and July 1529, and ended by announcing that the Pope had avocated the case to Rome. The Pope found it inconvenient to offend so powerful a neighbour as Katharine's nephew, Charles V.

§ 59. **Fall and Death of Wolsey, 1529-30**—Since beginning the negotiations for putting away Katharine, Henry had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, a vivacious lady of the Court; and he was furious at the obstacles thrown in the way of his imperious will. Not being able to reach the Pope, he wreaked his wrath on Wolsey, who was dismissed from the Chancellorship in October 1529, and ordered to retire to his archbishopric of York. In November 1530 he was summoned to London on a charge of high treason, and died at Leicester Abbey, exclaiming, "If I had but served my God as well as I have served my prince!"

The Valois and the Hapsburgs.



**KINGS OF CASTILE, KINGS OF ARAGON
KINGS OF SPAIN (CASTILE AND ARAGON)**

**ROMAN EMPERORS.
ENGLISH KINGS.**

LOUIS IX (1226-1270)
KEY TO VARIETIES OF TYPE. KINGS OF FRANCE
Dukes of Burgundy

CHAPTER III.

HENRY VIII.'S ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION, 1529-1547.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY.—See previous chapter.

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE.	FRANCE	SPAIN	SCOTLAND	TURKEY
Clement VII (1523) Paul III. (1584)	Charles V. (1519- 1556)	Francis I. (1515- 1547)	Charles I (Emperor Charles V) (1516-1556)	James V (1513) Mary (1542)	Suleiman I <i>the Magna-</i> <i>ficent</i> (1520-1566)

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

(i) International: relations with—

- (1) Papacy §§ 62, 64-68, 74, 81
- (2) Charles V §§ 64, 72, 81, 82
- (3) German Protestants §§ 66, 78, 79.
- (4) France § 82
- (5) Scotland. § 82.

(ii) Constitutional.

- (1) Royal Prerogative · §§ 65, 68, 73, 79-82
- (2) Royal Supremacy §§ 61-63, 67-70, 72, 75, 77, 78
- (3) Royal Succession §§ 65, 72, 79, 83.
- (4) Ministers §§ 60, 64, 66, 73, 79, 80, 84.
- (5) Parliament §§ 60, 61, 64-68, 71, 75, 76
- (6) Convocation §§ 62, 63, 67, 77.
- (7) Insurrections §§ 73, 74.
- (8) Wales §§ 76, 80
- (9) Ireland §§ 80, 81.

I. THE DIVORCE QUESTION, 1529-1533.

✓§ 60. Wolsey's Successors, 1529—The fall of Wolsey marked a complete change in men and measures. None of his successors ever had so free a hand as he had been allowed; they were usually laymen and not ecclesiastics; and they had to deal not only

with a King who was constantly over-ruling them, but also with frequent parliaments (§ 55). Henry's most prominent advisers, during the ten years which followed Wolsey's fall, were all laymen: among them were Thomas Howard, whose father had been rewarded for his victory at Flodden (§ 53) by the dukedom of Norfolk; Sir Thomas More, who had embodied his social ideals in the *Utopia*, had been Speaker in Wolsey's only Parliament, and now was elevated to the Chancellorship; and Thomas Cromwell, who had studied Machiavelli's treatise on state-craft in Italy, and, under Wolsey, had had practical experience in applying the science. Cromwell, however, did not become a person of first-rate importance until the temporizing policy of Norfolk and More had been proved futile.

§ 61. First Session of the Reformation Parliament, 1529.

—The substitution of lay for clerical influence bore its first fruits in the Parliament which met in November 1529, and which is celebrated for its unprecedented length as the "Seven Years' Parliament," and for its achievements as the "Reformation Parliament." This assembly was characterized by what would now-a-days be called "an overwhelming Government majority". the Government—i. e. the King—could make it do almost anything he pleased, he chose to manage it in such a way that the Parliament had the appearance of suggesting what in reality had been prompted by the King; and the only thing in which it can safely be said to have been truly representative of the nation was its dislike of clerical influence. That dislike was illustrated in the first session by the passing of a number of bills restricting various methods by which the clergy were in the habit of increasing their incomes—such as the exactions of heavy burial fees (*mortuaries*), holding more offices than they could adequately discharge (*pluralities*), and engaging in trades. The bills were not intrinsically important; they merely shadowed forth Henry VIII.'s determination to complete the work of Henry II. to subject the Clergy, as his father had subjected the other privileged estate, the Nobles, to the authority of the Crown (§§ 33, 40).

§ 62. Recognition of the Headship, 1531.

—The second session of the Parliament, in 1531, was unimportant, but the contemporary sessions of Convocation marked a fresh stage in the ecclesiastical revolution. The whole nation was ingeniously charged with incurring the guilt of *Praemunire* (§ 27), for recognizing the authority which Wolsey exercised as Papal Legate, though for this he had the express licence of the King. Parliament secured a gratuitous pardon for the laity; but the clergy, in their Convoca-

tions assembled, could obtain a similar pardon only by paying a fine of some £118,000, and by addressing the King as "Head of the Church and Clergy." Henry allowed them to soften the new phrase by the qualification, "as far as the law of Christ will allow"; but the qualification was itself ambiguous, and Henry soon showed that he could interpret it in his own favour.

§ 63. **Submission of the Clergy, 1532.**—Some inkling of the King's interpretation of his "Supremacy" was given to the Clergy in the following year. Convocation, under pressure from King and Commons, then made a triple admission.—(1) that Convocation could be summoned only by the King's order, (2) that it could not make binding canons without the King's licence and assent; (3) that existing canons were to be considered invalid if contrary to statute-law. Henry thus obtained a clear recognition that as essential a factor in ecclesiastical as he was in civil legislation. Previous kings had for the most part contented themselves with trying to control the application of church-law. Henry VIII. returned to the Conqueror's policy of asserting his right to control the making of church-law. In each case there was room for considerable variations, in both theory and practice, as to the limits of the Royal Supremacy.

§ 64. **Third Session of the Reformation Parliament, 1532**—Meanwhile Henry was steadily prosecuting his divorce-suit by negotiations with the Emperor and with the Pope. In 1530, for instance, he tried to smooth the way for Clement VII. by obtaining "counsel's opinion" from the Universities of Europe, that his marriage was invalid; but this device of Cranmer's was rendered useless by the lack of unanimity among the lawyers. As the method of negotiation grew more and more hopeless, Henry gradually forsook the pacific counsels of Norfolk, and fell under the influence of Cromwell. The brutal common-sense tone of Cromwell's argument can be exactly reproduced to the modern ear: "Why worry about getting a divorce made in Italy, when a cheaper home made article will do?" If Henry could not obtain his divorce from Rome, he might get it in England; and his dealings with the Clergy in 1530-1532 were directed towards establishing not only his own regal authority, but also the sufficiency of the English ecclesiastical authorities to determine English ecclesiastical questions. When the Pope in 1530 bade Henry take back Katharine till sentence was pronounced, the King retaliated by a Proclamation forbidding the introduction of Papal Letters; and in 1532 he obtained from

Parliament authority to stop paying the Pope the first year's income of ecclesiastical benefices (annates or first-fruits). The Act, known as the First Statute in Restraint of Annates, threatened to stop English contributions to the Papal revenue, unless the Pope proved compliant.

§ 65. Fourth Session, 1533.—In the following session Parliament passed the First Statute of Appeals, declaring that, as "this Realm of England is an Empire," there could be no appeal in suits concerning wills, marriages, and divorces from the spiritual courts of that realm. In May 1533, Thomas Cranmer, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, acting under the terms of the Statute, declared Henry's marriage with Katharine null and void from the beginning; he followed this decision up by declaring Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn (celebrated secretly in January 1533) to be legal; and in September the new Queen gave birth to a daughter, afterwards Queen Elizabeth. ✓

II. THE BREACH WITH ROME, 1533-1536.

§ 66. Cranmer and Cromwell, 1532-3.—These proceedings were certainly disapproved by the ministers to whom Henry had at first given his confidence after Wolsey's fall, and were probably disliked by the nation at large. Whatever might be the technical merits of the case, Henry's conduct towards Katharine and Anne could not commend itself to any person capable of ordinary decency and chivalry; less sentimental people pointed out the danger to English commerce of offending the ruler of the Netherlands; and the conservative-minded could not regard an attack on the Pope's authority as opportune at a time when the German Protestants were threatening the cherished unity of the Church. The prevalence of such views is shown by the resignation of Lord Chancellor More and of the Primate Warham in 1532, and by the difficulty experienced in forcing the Acts of 1532-3 through Parliament. More's successor was of no particular importance, as Cromwell was gathering all the civil power into his hands: Warham's successor, Thomas Cranmer, was a man of pliable yet persistent character, who seems to have regarded the King with somewhat the same kind of reverence as was conventionally paid to the Pope.

§ 67. Fifth Session, 1534.—One of the last public acts of Pope Clement VII. was to annul Cranmer's decisions of 1533, and declare Henry's first marriage valid. This was in March 1534. ✕ In the same month the Convocation of Canterbury declared the Pope "hath no greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in this

kingdom of England, than hath any other foreign bishop, and Parliament embodied the clerical *Submission* of 1532 in the *Second Statute of Appeals*. Other Acts of the session withdrew from the Pope annates, Peter-pence, and other customary dues, and also regulated the royal succession by declaring Mary illegitimate, and entailing the crown on the King's children by Anne. One of these Acts—the *Second Statute of Annates*—laid down the procedure still followed in the appointment of an Anglican bishop: the Crown nominates; the Chapter has leave to elect (*congé d'élire*) the Crown nominee; the bishop designate swears fealty; four bishops consecrate the person thus elected, and confer upon him episcopal authority; he is then invested with the temporalities of the see.

§ 68. *Sixth Session, 1534-5*.—The breach with Rome was thus complete: the highest constitutional authorities of the realm—the King initiating, the assemblies that professed to represent the Church and the State assenting—had definitely repudiated the judicial and financial powers claimed and long exercised by “the Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope.” But these powers were only repudiated, not abolished. The Parliament in its sixth session transferred most of them to the King in the *First Statute of Supremacy*, and in a supplementary Act subjected to the penalties of high treason all who called the King “a heretic, schismatic, infidel, and usurper of the Crown.” The Royal Supremacy as defined by Henry was based on the precedents set by William I., Henry I., Henry II., and Edward III. but it went much further—it claimed something more than a negative voice in English ecclesiastical affairs; and it no longer regulated, but explicitly forbade, English ecclesiastical dealings with any foreign potentate.

§ 69. *Fisher and More, 1535*.—Such a revolution could not be accomplished without opposition; and many who had enough force of intellect to perceive that there was a distinction—as asserted by Parliament—between repudiating certain political powers of the Pope, and deserting the Catholic Faith, were also acute enough to see that such a line of distinction might easily be transgressed in practice. Among the most distinguished of such men were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester—an old friend of Henry's grandmother, the Lady Margaret—and Henry's own old friend, More. They were imprisoned in 1534 for refusing to accept the preamble to the *Succession Act* of that year, and executed in the summer of 1535 under the *Supremacy-Treasons Act*.

§ 70. *Cromwell's Visitation of the Monasteries, 1536*.—

Early in 1535 Henry appointed Cromwell his Vicar-General, or, in other words, entrusted him with the actual exercise of the powers included under the Royal Supremacy. Cromwell's position thus came to bear a general resemblance to that of Wolsey as Papal Legate, but he drew his authority from what contemporaries, with true insight and humour, described as "the new Papacy": he was a layman, and he was less tender of received ecclesiastical prejudices. Throughout the year he and his agents were busy collecting or manufacturing evidence as to the uselessness or viciousness of the religious houses of England. Both the theory and the existing practice of monasticism were widely disapproved by the best men of the day; but what chiefly influenced Henry and his minister was the desire to divert their wealth from the championship of the Pope to the maintenance of his substitute, the King.

§ 71. End of the Reformation Parliament, March 1536.—The results of Cromwell's visitation of the Monasteries were embodied in a report—no longer extant—presented to the Reformation Parliament in its seventh and last session. The consequence was an Act which dissolved all religious houses having an income of less than £200 per annum—some 280 in number—and vested in the Crown all their property—save a small sum reserved for pensioning the inmates. The smaller houses were selected for destruction on the ground that they were more corrupt than the larger houses. It was soon found convenient to ignore this distinction. ✓

III. THE TRIALS OF A LAY POPE, 1536-1547.

§ 72. Events of the Year, 1536.—Henry's ecclesiastical revolution was formally completed during the existence of the "Long Parliament of the Reformation"; the rest of the reign was mainly occupied with defining and defending the Royal Supremacy in its new shape, and with consolidating the royal power in other respects. The year 1536 was marked by much besides the ending of a notable Parliament. In January, Katharine died, thus opening up a way for reconciliation between Henry and Charles (§§ 58, 82); in May her supplanter, Anne Boleyn, was executed on a charge of adultery, and her daughter was excluded as a bastard from the throne by a *Second Succession Act*, which authorized Henry to regulate the royal succession by will or by letters patent; and in the autumn Henry had to face the beginnings of armed resistance to his rapid changes.

§ 73. The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-7.—A Lincolnshire

rising under "Captain Cowler" was quickly suppressed in October 1536; but it was followed by a more formidable insurrection in the less accessible region north of the Humber. The insurgents demanded the restoration of the Lady Mary to her rightful position of princess, the rehabilitation of the religious houses, and the expulsion from the King's Council of Thomas Cromwell, and other "low-born heretics." Their proceedings were orderly, and their program religious; they wore as a badge the "Five Wounds of Christ"; and they called their march the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The Duke of Norfolk, whom Henry sent against them, was compelled to promise that a Parliament should meet at York to redress their grievances, and that a general pardon should be given to all who went home quietly. A further rising in the spring of 1537 sufficed as a pretext to break these promises, to execute Robert Aske and other leaders, and to harry the disaffected districts. To preserve order in the five northern counties there was instituted a committee of the Privy Council, known as the Council of the North (§ 170).

§ 74 **Cardinal Pole and Paul's Bull of Deposition, 1538** — A threatened rising in the West of England, similar to the Pilgrimage of Grace, was nipped in the bud by Cromwell's arrest of the probable leaders—the heads of the semi-royal families of Courtnay and Pole (Table, p. xviii). Some were executed in 1539, the aged Countess of Salisbury was beheaded in 1541, but her son, Reginald Pole, the most energetic member of either family, escaped Henry's clutches, and lived to undo some of Henry's work. In the years 1537-1539 Reginald Pole was hovering round the Channel in order to promote insurrections, and in 1538 Pope Paul III. launched a Bull of Deposition against Henry; but all these efforts were belated and ineffectual (cf. §§ 111, 112).

§ 75. **Suppression of the Larger Monasteries, 1539.**—The chief effect of these acts of opposition was to stimulate Henry VIII's efforts to render his royal power and his royal orthodoxy more secure. His opponents, actual or possible, must be crushed; but on the other hand, he could take the strength of the religious conservatism behind them as a welcome proof that his doctrinal position—adhesion to the Catholic creed, as distinct from the Papal system—commended itself to the majority of his subjects. The popular movements of 1536-1539 thus directly led to two of the important Acts of 1539: the suppression of the larger monasteries removed a manifest danger to his Supremacy; the *Statute of the Six Articles* bore striking witness to his orthodoxy. Since 1536 many religious

houses had "voluntarily" surrendered to the Crown; and the Act of 1539 merely ratified these surrenders, and transferred all other monastic property to the King. It has been estimated that the income of the seven hundred houses dissolved between 1536 and 1540 amounted to over £1,500,000 of our money. What became of it all? Some was squandered by the King; some went to the endowment of six new bishoprics (*e g* Chester, Oxford, and Peterborough); some was devoted to the improvement of the Navy—an object always close to Henry's heart; but the greater part was given away to Henry's ministers and friends—practically as a bribe to secure their support in his ecclesiastical policy (*cf.* § 81). No attempt was made to find substitutes for the religious houses as places of education, as centres for poor-relief, or as refuges for the friendless; and this omission led to social troubles, of which the most striking, if not the most important, was the increased obviousness and the increased violence of a permanent pauper class.

§ 76. **Changes in the Constitution of Parliament, 1539-1543.**—Among the results of the suppression of the religious houses was the disappearance of the twenty-seven mitred abbots from the House of Lords, and their partial replacement by new lay peers. For the first time the Lords Temporal outnumbered the Lords Spiritual in the Upper House, and the preponderance of the former has been steadily increasing ever since. A few years later the House of Commons received an equally notable accession of fresh blood: in 1543 thirty-two members were added to the House, giving representation, practically for the first time, to Wales, Cheshire, and Calais. Thus was completed the process begun by Edward I. of incorporating Wales with England in law and organization: the dominion still remained, however, under the special care of the Council of Wales instituted in 1478 (§ 170).

§ 77. **Statute of the Six Articles, 1539.**—The legislation of the Seven Years' Parliament regarding the Church had been confined to the sphere of ecclesiastical *government*, and had not touched anything which could strictly be called a matter of religious *doctrine*. Convocation had in 1536 drawn up *Ten Articles* by way of showing that the doctrines of the Church of England were substantially the same as they had been before the breach with Rome; but it was not till 1539 that Henry made use of Parliament for the purpose not of defining but of enforcing theological propositions (*cf.* §§ 114, 190). The *Six Articles*, embodied in statute-form that year, affirmed the doctrine of the Corporeal Presence in the Sacrament of

the Eucharist, denied the necessity of Communion in Both Kinds, and maintained the celibacy of the clergy, the observance of vows of chastity, the expediency of private masses, and auricular confession: denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation was made a capital offence, and refusal to accept any of the last five articles was constituted felony. All this was quite conservative: what was new was the intrusion of the laity into a sphere which for centuries the clergy had regarded as entirely their own (cf § 95)

§ 78. **Doctrinal Controversies, 1526-1539.**—The *Six Articles* were aimed not at people who believed in the governing powers of the Pope, but at the growing number of people who wished to upset the entire religious system of the day. The general position of these extreme reformers was that God had revealed himself to mankind collectively, not through Pope or clergy, but only through the writings included in the Bible, they therefore desired that book to be translated into the spoken languages of the time, so that all might "drink of the Water of Life", and they regarded all such beliefs and practices as those inculcated in the *Six Articles* as "human inventions" contrary to "the plain Word of God." Such persons may be called by the general name of Evangelicals: those in England drew their inspiration mainly from Germany. Their chief representatives were the group of University men known as the "Cambridge Gospellers," William Tyndale, whose translation of the New Testament appeared in 1526, and Hugh Latimer, who was deprived of his bishopric of Worcester for refusing to accept the *Six Articles*. Henry regarded it as one of his duties as Supreme Head to repress variations from the traditional Catholic standards of orthodox belief

§ 79. **Fall of Cromwell, 1540.**—The *Six Articles* marked the triumph of the Moderates in the Council—especially the Duke of Norfolk, and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. In opposition to them Cromwell and Cranmer strove to bring the King into closer touch with the German Protestants, by means of a new marriage. For the King had lost his third wife, Jane Seymour, in October 1537, when she gave birth to the long-desired male heir, afterwards Edward VI. Cromwell persuaded Henry to take as her successor, Anne, daughter of the Protestant Duke of Kleves. The marriage took place in January 1540, and Cromwell was rewarded for his services with the earldom of Essex. Henry, however, soon tired of a wife who was doubly offensive to him as being heretical and as "a great Flanders mare": he divorced and pensioned her and

married Katharine Howard, niece to Norfolk, at the end of July. The same day Cromwell perished on the scaffold as a traitor and a heretic.

§ 80. **Cromwell's Minor Work, 1529-1540.**—Cromwell's work was multifarious as Wolsey's, but more striking to the eye. Besides his share in the ecclesiastical revolution, crowned by his work as Vicar-General, he achieved much in the way of the consolidation and extension of the royal power. The Anglo-Welsh Union of 1536 has been already mentioned (§ 76). To him also is due the *Lex Regia* of 1539, whereby Parliament formally enacted that, within certain definite limits, Royal Proclamations had the force of statute-law. The Act was repealed in less than ten years, but Cromwell's work in Ireland had more enduring results.

§ 81 **Irish Affairs, 1535-1542**—During the forty years that followed *Poyning's Law*, Ireland had been alternately governed by Hibernian magnates and by English officials in the usual way. During Cromwell's ministry there came a series of changes. In 1535-1537 the heads of the Kildare FitzGerald family were exterminated for intriguing with Charles V.; and at the same time an attempt was made to assimilate the Irish Church to the new English model. In 1537 an *Irish Act of Supremacy* was forced through the Irish Parliament (cf. § 68). Five years afterwards the monasteries in the English part of Ireland were suppressed, and the confiscated lands were distributed among the magnates to secure their adhesion to the new state of things. In 1542, also, Henry VIII. asserted his independence of the Pope by changing the Pope-given title, "Lord of Ireland," for that of "King." These measures aroused a greater and more successful opposition than their analogues in England, and their chief result was, to drive the Celtic part of the Irish Church into closer union with Rome.

§ 82 **War with France and Scotland, 1542-1546.**—The concluding years of Henry's reign, after Cromwell's fall, were occupied by the wars that arose out of his active re-entry into international lay politics, and by attempts to secure a permanent balance among the bitter factions that threatened to mar the impending reign of a minor. From 1542 to 1546 England was at war with France and Scotland, at first in alliance with Charles V. The chief incidents in the Scottish war were the death of James V. after his defeat at Solway Moss in 1542, and the consequent invasion of Scotland in 1544 in order to compel the marriage of the infant Queen Mary with the Prince of Wales. The scheme fell through,

and the only return which the King obtained at the general peace of 1546 for his costly campaigns was the town of Boulogne (§ 92).

§ 83. **Henry VIII.'s Financial Methods.**—As in the former wars, the military expenses were met by heavy exactions; and even these did not suffice to save the State from bankruptcy. In 1544 Parliament repeated its action of 1529 in allowing the King to repudiate his debts; and in the following year a benevolence of from ten pence to twenty pence per pound was raised. Moreover, Henry continued the process, begun by Edward III., of debasing the coinage. that is to say, he issued from the Royal Mint coins smaller in size, and containing a larger proportion of alloy than those previously in use having the same nominal value. At first the King made a profit by this dishonesty, for he could manufacture more coins out of a given weight of precious metal; but naturally prices soon rose to an extent which more than counter-balanced this profit. The result in the long run of such tampering with "sound money" is to cause social difficulties.

§ 84 **Henry's Balancing Policy and Death, 1542-1547.**—Henry had secured a general acceptance in England for his ecclesiastical settlement, but he was well aware that its security was dependent upon his own life. Some of those who accepted it desired to modify it in order to return to the communion of the Pope: others wished to diverge still further from the Papal system. Among the former may be ranked Bishop Gardiner, Norfolk, and his poet son, the Earl of Surrey: among the latter were Archbishop Cranmer, Jane Seymour's brother Edward, Earl of Hertford, and John, Lord Lisle, son of the Dudley executed in 1510—both successful commanders in the war of 1542-1546. Henry VIII. desired to keep these two parties as evenly balanced as possible even after his death; and with this end in view he passed through Parliament in 1544 the *Third Succession Act*, empowering him for a second time to name his successor and to regulate the government during his successor's reign. On the whole, however, the conservative party were in the ascendant so long as Katharine Howard was queen; but some time after her execution, in 1542—on the usual ground of infidelity—Henry married his last wife, Katharine Parr, a widow and an adherent of the innovating party. Believing that the Howards were preparing to retrieve their position by a desperate stroke, Henry arrested them both in the fall of 1546: Surrey was executed, but Norfolk was saved by the death of the King on the day appointed for his execution (January 28, 1547).

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND UNDER FOREIGN INFLUENCES, 1547-1558

A PERSONAL HISTORY.—See Table, p xix, for the family relations of—

(a) **EDWARD VI** born at Hampton Court, October 12, 1537, succeeded his father as King of England, January 28, 1547, crowned, February 28, 1547, died unmarried, at Greenwich, July 6, 1553; buried at Westminster

(b) **MARY I.** born at Greenwich, February 18, 1516, succeeded her half-brother on the throne of England, July 6, 1553; crowned, October 1, 1553, married Philip, King of Naples, afterwards Philip II of Spain, July 25, 1554; died, without children, in St. James's Palace, November 17, 1558; buried at Westminster.

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	SCOTLAND	TURKEY
Paul III. (1534) Julius III. (1550) Marcellus II (1555) Paul IV. (1555)	Charles V (1519-1556) Ferdinand I (1558)	Francis I (1515) Henry II (1547)	Charles I (1516) (the Emperor Charles V) Philip II. (1556)	Mary (1542) (Scotland under a Regency during her minority and absence in France)	Suleiman I (1520- 1566)

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

(i) **International:** *relations with—*

- (1) The Papacy §§ 96, 98, 100.
- The Empire §§ 87, 93, 96, 97.
- Spain §§ 96, 97, 100
- France §§ 87, 92, 97, 100.
- Scotland §§ 81, 100.

(ii) **Constitutional.**

- (1) Foreign Influences §§ 85, 90, 92, 97-100.
- (2) Domestic Factions §§ 85, 86, 91, 93, 94
- (3) Ecclesiastical Affairs: §§ 88, 89, 92, 95, 98, 99
- (4) Succession Questions §§ 86, 93, 94.
- (5) Insurrections §§ 90, 96.

I. THE PROTECTORATE OF SOMERSET, 1547-1549.

§ 85. **Characteristics of the Period.**—The two short reigns which followed the death of Henry VIII. were marked by the temporary interruption of the strong personal government of the Tudors. It is true that both Edward and Mary had wills of their own; but the one was a minor, the other a woman. England had never yet been governed successfully by a minor; and the rule

of a woman was a novel and discouraging experiment. These two reigns were marked, therefore, by the renewal of unchecked party struggles among the aristocracy, by the sudden reduction of England to the position of a third-rate Power, by the rapid growth of foreign influences in Church and in State, and by violent changes in religion. England became a dependent and disordered realm; and the contrast between her condition under the strong rule of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, on the one hand, and her condition during the intervening period, on the other hand, has been compendiously characterized by describing the two brief reigns as "un-English"

§ 86. **Edward VI.'s Advisers, 1547.**—Henry VIII had twice sought and received from Parliament power to arrange for the government of England after his decease. He was found to have appointed in his will a body of sixteen "Executors" to act as a council of regency. He had sought to secure a continuance of his moderate church-policy by selecting these "Executors" equally from the two parties which had long been struggling for the mastery. The innovating section of the Council, however, contrived to upset the balance, and procured from the young King the official position of Lord Protector for their own leader, Edward Seymour, Lord Hertford. Hertford's sister had been Edward VI.'s mother, and he now obtained from his nephew the dukedom of Somerset for himself, and various peerages and estates for the colleagues who had acquiesced in raising him to the head of the State.

§ 87. **Somerset's Foreign Policy.**—Somerset was rather less selfish than the bulk of his partisans, and, though personally ambitious, he had genuine enthusiasm for religious reform and for the social welfare of the poorer classes. But his zeal outran his discretion, and his methods were not well adapted to his ends. He was consequently unsuccessful both abroad and at home. He sympathized with the German Protestants, between whom and the Emperor war had broken out in 1546. yet he made no effort to save them from the temporary ruin which was brought upon them by Charles V.'s victory at Muhlberg, Saxony, in April 1547. So too, nearer home, he sympathized with the party of ecclesiastical reform in Scotland. nevertheless, he allowed that party to lose their stronghold, St. Andrews, before he marched north to their aid. On September 10 he defeated the Scots at Pinkie Cleugh, a few miles east of Edinburgh. But the victory and the ravaging with which it was accompanied merely strengthened the anti-English party in Scotland. The five-year-old queen Mary, instead of being won as

the wife of England's boy-king, was sent to France and betrothed to the Dauphin Francis in 1548; and the regency was, after an interval, acquired by the Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise. The old Franco-Scottish alliance was renewed, as usual, under pressure of the English aggression; and Somerset found himself too much occupied with domestic affairs to check this movement.

§ 88. **Somerset's Ecclesiastical Measures, 1547-1549.**—The elevation of Somerset to the head of the State was followed by the suspension or imprisonment on various pretexts of the more conservative bishops—e. g. Gardiner and Bonner—and by a series of rapid changes in the Church. In 1547 a Royal Commission conducted an ecclesiastical visitation for the purpose of removing images and seeing that English was substituted for Latin in public worship, and in the same year Parliament placed in the hands of the Crown the direct appointment of bishops and all the remaining property of ecclesiastical corporations. A *Book of Homilies* edited by Cranmer was also issued. these were to be read instead of original sermons by the parochial clergy, and were designed to teach the people the excellence of the changes that had been made or were about to be made. Early in 1549 Parliament passed the First Act of Uniformity, enforcing the use, in public worship throughout the land, of Prayer-Books based on the service-books hitherto in use, but remodelled and composed in English.

§ 89. **Social and Economic Discontent, 1549.**—The suddenness of these changes in the public conduct of religion, and the rapacity shown by many of those who were engaged in carrying them out, both startled and disgusted the nation. The poorer classes especially were affected in pocket as well as in sentiment. The ecclesiastical corporations whose property had been confiscated in 1547 included the gilds whose funds had been applied to educate the children, to maintain the aged, and to pay for masses for the repose of the souls of the dead belonging to the members of the gilds: their religious endowments had been swept away on the ground that this last use was "superstitious" Some of the wealth thus acquired by the State was devoted to the reconstitution of the schools still known as "King Edward VI.'s Grammar Schools"; but the bulk fell into the hands of the needy courtiers and their dependants. The disendowment of these gilds took place just at a time when such benefit-societies were peculiarly needed: the turning of arable land into pasture was throwing out of employment many who, in default of such means of relief as the dissolved monasteries and

dissolved gilds dispensed, were compelled to become "sturdy vagabonds" wandering about in search of food, and taking it by force if they could not stave off hunger by the gifts of the charitable. The savage Vagrancy Act of 1547—authorizing the captors of such vagabonds to keep them as slaves—was found quite useless, and was repealed two years later. Somerset issued a Commission to investigate the grievances of the unemployed—he thus raised hopes of relief which he could do nothing to realize.

§ 90. Insurrections in West and East, 1549.—Religious and social discontent broke out into open insurrection in the year 1549. The first use of the new Prayer-Book on Whitsunday led to a popular rising in the West of England (cf. §§ 73, 74), which was crushed by Lord Russell in June. Next month a more formidable rising to ameliorate the social condition of the people burst forth in Norfolk, under the leadership of Robert Kett, a wealthy tanner: it was nearly six weeks before this movement was put down by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, at Duffindale, near Norwich. These were only the two principal risings amongst a large number of disturbances, which were so widespread and serious that the Government was obliged to employ German and Italian mercenaries for their suppression.

II. ASCENDANCY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, 1549-1553.

§ 91. Fall of Somerset, October 1549.—Somerset had not been successful; and his openly expressed sympathy with the poorer classes had brought him no popularity, while it caused him to be regarded with suspicion by his wealthy colleagues. Early in 1549 he had been able to send to the block his brother Thomas—Lord Seymour of Sudeley, and husband of Henry VIII.'s widow, Katharine Parr—for a "treasonable" attempt to supplant him; but in October Warwick, the victor of Duffindale, made a more successful attempt. Somerset was imprisoned for a few months, and his rival took his place, not however as "Lord Protector" but simply as "Lord President of the Council." Two years later Warwick was raised to the dukedom of Northumberland, and Somerset was executed on the charge of making a felonious attempt to unseat him.

§ 92. Further Ecclesiastical Reforms, 1549-1552.—Just before Somerset's fall England had drifted into war with France, which was brought to a close in March 1550 by the retrocession of Henry VIII.'s conquest, Boulogne. The rest of Northumberland's rule was mostly occupied with attempts to carry the Reform-

ation still further, and to secure its continuance in England. The ecclesiastical measures were, as before, under the guidance of Cranmer, but they were now largely influenced by the German Protestants who took refuge in England from the troubles in Saxony, Switzerland, and the Rhine-lands (§§ 87, 105). In 1552 a Second Act of Uniformity imposed a shilling fine for absence from Church, and prescribed the use of Edward VI.'s Second Prayer-Book. Its general tendency was shown by its attitude to the typical controversy of the day: the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was no longer described as "commonly called the Mass," and it was treated rather as a memorial service than as, in any sense, sacrificial. So, too, the Forty-Two Articles of Religion promulgated in the following year were distinctly based, not, like the Prayer-Book, on the mediæval formularies of the Anglican Church, but on recent Lutheran "confessions."

§ 93. The Attempt to Change the Succession, 1553.—The knowledge that Edward was rapidly dying of consumption made his advisers anxious as to the future position both of the English Church and of themselves under his lawful successor. The Princess Mary had steadily refused to conform to the altered services of the reign, and had been allowed to keep on her own way for fear of offending her powerful cousin, Charles V. There was no doubt that she would undo her brother's, if not her father's, work; and Northumberland, by insisting on this point, persuaded the King that it was his duty to preserve the present religion of the country by changing the succession. Barely a month before the precocious youth died, he issued letters-patent cancelling the succession authorized by Parliament in 1544, and appointing as his heir, Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VIII.'s younger sister Mary (Table, p. xix). Though a minor, he thus attempted to effect on his own authority far more sweeping succession changes than his father had ever attempted with the authority of Parliament (§§ 67, 72, 84).

III. MARY AS SOLE QUEEN, 1553-1554.

§ 94. The Nine Days' Queen, 1553.—The choice of Lady Jane Grey as successor to Edward VI. was due to Northumberland, who had married the girl to his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, and who hoped thus to secure the continuance and even the increase of his power. His ambition overreached itself. A section of the Council opposed to him warned Mary to keep away from London, and, when Northumberland went into the Eastern Counties in search of her, proclaimed Mary as Queen Jane, who had been persuaded

that her succession was not only legal but also popular, readily yielded to Mary; her father-in-law was executed as a traitor; and Mary became the first Queen Regnant in England.

§ 95. The Queen's Ecclesiastical Proceedings, 1553.—The daughter of Katharine of Aragon naturally regarded the ecclesiastical changes of the past twenty years with disapproval: she was resolved to undo both the ecclesiastico-political work of her father and the more properly religious work of her brother. In the latter of these objects she had the bulk of the whole nation, in the former she had the bulk of the clergy, on her side. She at once let it be known that foreign Protestants could no longer regard England as a safe asylum; she imprisoned Cranmer for taking part in the late attempt to exclude her from the throne, she restored Gardiner and Bonner to the sees of Winchester and London respectively, she dispossessed all the bishops and clergy who had taken advantage of the Edwardian Act of Parliament legalizing the marriage of the clergy; and she authorized the use of the old service-books. Her first Parliament, which met in October, showed its approval of her action so far by formally repealing the ecclesiastical statutes of the last reign, and thus restoring the state of things which had existed under Henry VIII. Parliament also declared Mary legitimate and Head on earth of the Church of England, but it would not listen to suggestions of restoring the church-lands.

§ 96. Marriage Projects and Insurrections, 1554.—The religious conservatives had thus got by peaceable means from Mary and her advisers what they had failed to extort by force from the advisers of Edward VI—viz the restoration of the church-services to which they were accustomed. They were content, but Mary wanted more she desired to restore the Papal Supremacy in England, and the better to effect this she wished to marry Philip, the son and heir of her cousin Charles V. Amongst other persons named as possible husbands were Reginald, Cardinal Pole, and Edward Courtnay, Earl of Devon, both descended from the royal house of York (Table, p. xviii), and more generally acceptable to the nation as being not aliens but Englishmen. Gardiner, now Lord Chancellor and Mary's chief adviser, strongly urged the claims of Courtnay: finding that impracticable, he endeavoured to frame a marriage-treaty with Philip which should guarantee the continued independence of England. The marriage was formally announced in January 1554, and unmediately there broke out risings in the Southern and Midland districts of England to frustrate the project.

The most formidable was that of the Kentishmen under Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet's son (cf. § 46). Mary's courage rallied the men of London to her side; Wyatt was taken prisoner at Temple Bar; and the leaders of the various risings, together with Lady Jane and her husband, suffered death in consequence of the attempt. The Princess Elizabeth narrowly escaped the same fate, and was virtually a prisoner for the rest of her sister's reign.

§ 97. The Spanish Marriage, 1554.—Mary's second Parliament gave its approval to the marriage, and, in July, Philip came over to England for the ceremony. He had been made King of Naples for the occasion; and within the next two years Charles resigned to him all his Spanish, Italian, and Burgundian dominions (Table, p. 45). Though it failed to realize the expectations based upon it, this marriage is one of the most important facts in the sixteenth century. It reduced England from the position of a separate factor in European politics to that of a Hapsburg dependency. The German Protestants, with the aid of Henry II. of France, had recently recovered from their overthrow at Muhlberg, and were in process of winning legal toleration from the Emperor. This they formally obtained by the Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555; and for the next sixty years Germany lay in broken rest under the descendants of Charles's brother Ferdinand. Charles V.'s failure in Germany, and the approaching partition of his dignities between his brother and his son, made him welcome Philip's marriage with Mary as restoring the Balance of Power.

IV. PHILIP AND MARY, 1554-1558.

§ 98. The Reconciliation with Rome, November 1554—These broader political results of the Spanish marriage were remote and problematical: its effects on the strictly ecclesiastical situation in England were immediate. Mary's third Parliament reversed the attainder of Cardinal Pole, and repealed all anti-Papal legislation since the twentieth year of Henry VIII. Pole returned to England as Papal Legate, and on November 30 formally received the submission of the nation, as represented by the kneeling Queen and Parliament, to the Holy See. This recognition, like the previous repudiation, of the Papal supremacy was achieved by the civil and ecclesiastical assembles of the land under the guidance of the reigning monarch. It is worth noting that the laity, as represented in Parliament, agreed to the renewal of the ties between the Church of England and Rome only on the express stipulation that the ecclesi-

astical property which had changed hands should not be restored to its former owners. Both Mary and the Pope had to accept this condition ; and when Mary obtained the assent of Parliament to divest herself of the first-fruits, she was not allowed to pay them over, as before, to the Papacy. These facts illustrate both the power of Parliament and the religious attitude of the nation.

§ 99. **The Marian Persecution, 1555-1558.**—Early in 1555 Parliament revived the anti-Lollard statutes passed during the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. ; and, armed with these powers, the Government began that persecution of heretics which has earned for the Queen and for Bonner the epithet of “Bloody.” Altogether about three hundred persons of all ranks and ages were burnt at the stake, mainly in the South-east of England, the part most exposed to Continental influences. Amongst the more distinguished victims were John Hooper, Nicolas Ridley, Hugh Latimer, and Thomas Cranmer, who had respectively occupied the sees of Gloucester, London, Worcester, and Canterbury. The persecution, which was much more severe than any other recorded in English History, has been ascribed to the initiative of various persons—Mary herself, Bonner, Gardiner, and Pole, who succeeded Cranmer as Primate of All England. The authorship of the persecution, however, is less important than its results. It began after, and was generally considered a consequence of, the Spanish marriage : it inspired the bulk of the English nation with a great horror of “Popery” and Spain. Latimer’s last words to Ridley at the stake were prophetic—“We shall this day light such a candle by God’s grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out.”

§ 100. **Loss of Calais and Mary’s death, 1558**—While the persecution on behalf of Roman Catholicism was going on, England was dragged at the heels of Spain into a war against Henry II., in which Pope Paul IV. was the political ally of France. Early in 1558 the French took Calais, the last possession of England on the Continent. Mary, already disheartened by her involuntary quarrel with the Papacy, by her husband’s coldness, and by her childlessness, was driven distracted by the loss of Calais. She died of dropsy in November 1558, and her death was followed a few hours later by that of Cardinal Pole. Few rulers of England have so unswervingly done what they conceived to be their duty : yet all her earnest efforts were crowned by failure, and she had the bitterness of knowing that the daughter of the woman who had supplanted her mother would overthrow all her work.

CHAPTER V.

ELIZABETH'S CHURCH-SETTLEMENT, 1558-1560.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY—Daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife Anne Boleyn, born at Greenwich, September 7, 1533, succeeded her half-sister as Queen of England, November 17, 1558, died at Richmond, March 24, 1603, buried at Westminster. *Principal suitors* Philip II of Spain: James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Emanuel Filibert, Duke of Savoy, the Archduke Charles of Austria, Prince Eric of Sweden, Ivan the Terrible, first Tzar of Russia (1533-1584), Charles IX of France, Henry, Duke of Anjou (later, Henry III. of France), Francis, Duke of Alençon, later of Anjou.

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	SCOTLAND	TURKEY
Paul IV (1555) Pius IV (1559) Pius V (1566)	Ferdinand I (1558) Maximilian II (1564)	Henry II (1547) Francis II (1559) Charles IX (1560)	Philip II (1556)	Mary (1542) (Returns home from France, 1561, deposed, 1567) James VI (1567)	Suleiman I (1520) Selim II (1566)

C TOPICS OF THE REIGN

(i) **International:** *dealings with—*

- (1) Papacy §§ 104-106
- (2) France. §§ 102, 107, 108.
- (3) Spain § 102, 106
- (4) Scotland §§ 102, 106-111.

(ii) **Constitutional.**

- (1) Succession Questions §§ 102, 108, 109
- (2) Elizabeth's Courtships §§ 104, 109.
- (3) Church-settlement §§ 103-5.
- (4) Penal Statutes § 108
- (5) Parliament §§ 103, 108, 109.
- (6) Maritime Enterprise § 101.
- (7) Plots § 111.

I. THE ELIZABETHAN CHURCH-SETTLEMENT, 1558-1559.

§ 101. **Survey of Elizabeth's Reign, 1558-1603.**—"The spacious times of Great Elizabeth" have become proverbial. Her reign is marked by the settlement of the Church of England on a broad basis which still endures, by the elevation of the State of England to a front place in European politics which it has never

wholly lost, by an outburst of literary activity in which Marlowe and Shakspeare, Spenser and Sidney, Hooker and Bacon were the prime movers, by the spread of English maritime effort into every sea under men like Gilbert, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Davys, by the close of the long warfare between England and Scotland, and by the completion of the first English conquest of Ireland. The manifold achievements thus baldly summarized justify the pride with which Englishmen look back upon this forty years' reign: they also serve to throw into relief Elizabeth's share in the work. At the beginning of her reign the outlook, so far from being "spacious," was narrow and depressing in the extreme; and though she did not indeed make Shakspeare or Drake, nor did she defeat the Armada, yet it was her personal influence on the conduct of the government that gave to her subjects the opportunities of which, even against her will, they availed themselves. Under the preceding Tudors, More and Tyndale, Surrey and Wyatt had done notable things in English literature, John Cabot and Richard Chancellor had done notable things in seamanship for England, but it was under Elizabeth that England attained the full fruition of the intellectual and geographical Renaissance.

§ 102 Elizabeth's Title and its Gainsayers, 1558 — When Elizabeth came to the English throne her realm was poor and distracted, and her own title was disputed. Her first business, therefore, was to obtain peace abroad: her second, was to secure peace at home by bringing about an ecclesiastical settlement which, if it did not satisfy, would at least pacify, all religious parties. The Anglo-Spanish war with France was still going on, and it had been made more dangerous for England by the marriage, early in 1558, of the Dauphin Francis to Mary Queen of Scots. If Elizabeth was illegitimate, if Parliament had no power to make good the defect of birth, and if the right to the English throne properly depended on hereditary descent alone, the Scottish Queen had indisputably a better claim to the crown of England than Elizabeth could show (Table, p. xix). Now all these positions were reasonable enough to be accepted by many Englishmen; and for many years Elizabeth's chief concern was to avoid giving sufficient offence to these legitimists to drive them to arms in support of their principles, and to prevent any foreign Power giving aid to English malcontents. She gained a breathing space, as she had already escaped execution as a traitor, through the friendship of Philip of Spain, who, believing her to be a bastard, and suspecting that she was a heretic,

yet could not, as a politician, allow England to fall into the hands of the Stuart claimant, and pass from the Hapsburg to the Valois group of states. Philip therefore insisted that England should be included in the general *Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis*, April 1559.

§ 103. **The Church-Settlement, 1559.**—Elizabeth quickly gave proofs that, though there was to be a change of policy, the change would be moderate. While she stopped burnings and imprisonment for heresy, she also stopped unlicensed preaching by the Edwardian ministers who had taken refuge abroad during Mary's reign. So also she retained Mary's Council, adding thereto William Cecil and Francis Walsingham, two men who were to be her chief advisers for well-nigh forty years. In January she was crowned and met her first Parliament, whose first two Acts embodied the framework of the Elizabethan church-settlement:—

- (i) *The [Second] Act of Supremacy* revives all Henry VIII's ecclesiastical legislation, save the *Statute of the Supreme Head* [§ 68]; repudiates all foreign spiritual authority, assigning penalties for maintaining the spiritual or temporal jurisdiction of any foreign prince or prelate, restores to the Crown its "ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual," and empowers the Crown to appoint Commissioners for the exercise of its jurisdiction [cf §§ 70, 114], and imposes an Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance on all office-holders in Church or State.
- (ii) *The [Third] Act of Uniformity* orders, under penalties of fine or imprisonment, the attendance of the laity at church on Sundays and Holy-days, and the use of a slightly revised edition of the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. [cf. §§ 92, 95].

§ 104 **Elizabeth's Attitude to the Papacy**—To the Church of England, as thus remodelled, Elizabeth required outward conformity from all, and from persons in authority a formal profession of obedience under oath. She herself as a subject had always conformed to the law of the land in these matters, and as a Queen she expected her subjects to follow her example. She did not exact belief in any cut-and-dried dogmatic system: it was not belief in the truth that she required, but conformity to the law. And she tried to make the law as palatable as she could to the varied tastes which the changes of the last thirty years had developed. For instance, she dropped the title of "Supreme Head of the Church" in favour of the less aggressive title, "Supreme Governor of the realm in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil"; she adopted both the formulæ used in administering the Sacrament of the Lord's

Supper in the two Prayer-Books of Edward VI.; and she cut out of the Litany the prayer to be delivered "from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities." It is said that Pope Pius IV. in 1561 offered to authorize the use of this English Prayer-Book and Communion in Both Kinds if England would return to the Roman obedience, but it was practically impossible for the daughter of Anne Boleyn to recognize an authority which had declared, and must continue to hold, her mother's marriage invalid and herself illegitimate. These same facts lay at the root of Elizabeth's refusal of Philip II's hand in marriage.

§ 105. **The Via Media of the Anglican Church.**—Despite Elizabeth's concessions, some one hundred and eighty-nine clergymen—including the entire bench of bishops (15), save Kitchen of Llandaff—declined to accept the Elizabethan church-settlement, and many who accepted it regarded it as merely a stop-gap reform. The former looked to Rome, apparently *semper eadem*: the latter looked rather to Geneva, the independent city-state in which the Frenchman John Calvin had been building up a new dogmatic theology, and in which many Englishmen had taken refuge from the Marian persecution. It was the gradual drawing asunder of these rival schools that frustrated Elizabeth's attempt to find a *via media*—a "middle way" which all religious parties might conscientiously tread. Those who wanted to go back to the mediaeval ideal of a visible universal Church, outwardly united, owing obedience to the Bishop of Rome (*Roman Catholics*), and those who wished to move still farther away from the forms in which that ideal had clothed itself (*Puritans*), began to withdraw from the Church of England. The circumstances of the time gave these attempts at withdrawal a political significance; and they were treated as seditious or treasonable by Elizabeth's Government.

§ 106 **International Conditions of the Reign.**—The Anglican church-settlement, Elizabeth's position on the English throne, and the independence of England—three things quite separable in thought—were so closely connected in fact that all Elizabeth's irreconcilable enemies are found to be adherents of Rome, all her stoutest defenders (not necessarily all her allies) are found to be opponents of Rome. Political and national necessities, far more than religious convictions or preferences, caused Elizabeth to drift into a position of practical headship over the Protestant Powers of Europe, and the bulk of Englishmen to glory in the name of Protestant. The permanent forces ranged in opposition to Elizabeth

may always be labelled Roman Catholic; but these forces were embodied in different leaders from time to time. The front rank of the opposition was successively held by Mary Queen of Scots, the Papacy itself, and Philip of Spain. All these attempted to turn the internal elements of dissatisfaction existing in England against Elizabeth.

II. THE STRUGGLE WITH MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, 1559-1569

§ 107 **The Scottish Reformation, 1557-1560.**—By the death of Henry II. in July 1559, his son Francis and his daughter-in-law, Mary Queen of Scots, were suddenly elevated to the throne of France, and despite the terms of the *Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis* they resolved to strain every resource for making good their claims to the throne of England also. They had to begin by obtaining a firm grip of Scotland. There the Regent, Mary of Guise, had been attempting, with the aid of French troops, to suppress movements in favour of church-reform; and she had thus aroused a national outburst of anti-foreign and anti-Papal feeling even stronger than Mary Tudor had aroused in England. The Scottish Reformation was organized theologically by John Knox, an ardent disciple of Calvin, and politically by the Nobles, acting as "Lords of the Congregation," under the leadership of Mary's illegitimate half-brother, James Stuart, Earl of Moray. The Reformers deposed the Regent in October 1559, and summoned Elizabeth to their aid. Elizabeth had theoretical objections to rebellion, but still stronger practical objections to the establishment of French influence in North Britain. While declining, therefore, to marry the Earl of Arran, heir presumptive to the Scots crown, and become Queen of Scotland, she promised help in the *Treaty of Berwick*, February 1560, and, aided by her troops, the Scottish Lords were able to compel the French garrison to evacuate Leith in July. At the end of the year Francis II. died, and his widow resolved to go back to Scotland.

§ 108. **Mary's Widowhood in Scotland, 1561-1565.**—Mary landed in Scotland in August 1561. She refused to be bound by that part of the *Treaty of Leith* which arranged for her renunciation of her English claims, but she accepted that part which left the settlement of the Scottish Kirk to the Estates. On that basis she aimed at building up a national party in Scotland which should be devoted to her person, and give her a strength greater than that which she had lost through the death of her French husband. Backed by her Scots subjects she hoped to be able to unseat

Elizabeth, and then, throwing off the mask, to restore Roman Catholicism throughout the island of Britain. The two queens were evenly matched in personal capacity: Mary was younger and more winsome, but less cautious than Elizabeth, they were equally persistent in their respective aims, and equally unscrupulous in their choice of means. During the four years which Mary patiently devoted to strengthening her position in Scotland, Elizabeth sent some help to the Protestant insurgents, called *Huguenots*, in France—in the course of which she held Havre for nine months (1562-3)—and passed her first penal statute against the English adherents of the See of Rome.

§ 109 The Succession Question in England, 1565-1567.—Mary's first overt act of hostility to Elizabeth was her marriage, in July 1565, to her cousin Henry, Lord Darnley (Table, p. xix). She thus strengthened her English claims by uniting them with those of the next-of-kin; and when, in June 1566, she gave birth to an heir—James, the future King of England—the English demand that Elizabeth should make provision for the future by either marrying a husband, or naming a successor, became loud and firm. The demand was formulated in Elizabeth's second Parliament (1566), and pressed so keenly that she was constrained to forbid the discussion. The Commons protested against her intervention as an infringement of their privilege of Freedom of Debate, and after a struggle, Elizabeth gave way on the point of Privilege, while Parliament, in return, dropped its demands. Elizabeth saw the difficulties in the way of making a decision much more clearly than either her professional advisers in Council or her amateur advisers in Parliament. She could neither marry nor name a successor without offending one or other of the religious parties whom, by temporizing and feeding with hopes, she hoped to reconcile equally with her rule. Among the many suitors for her hand during this period the chief had been two Roman Catholics, Philip of Spain and his cousin the Archduke Charles (Table, p. 45), and two Protestants, Eric, son of Gustav Wasa of Sweden, and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, fifth son of the Duke of Northumberland. Philip was the most powerful personage in Europe, Leicester was the man she loved most dearly; she refused their offers, as she refused all other offers, mainly because she believed that to commit herself to a husband and to a clear line of policy would plunge England into civil war. The possibility of her marriage was a diplomatic weapon, the handling of which delighted both her

queenly instincts and her woman's vanity: to marry would have disarmed her and possibly given her a master. For these reasons she remained a "Virgin Queen"; and for similar reasons she declined to adjudge the succession either in favour of the claims of the House of Suffolk, which rested on Henry VIII's *Succession Acts*, or in favour of the hereditary claims of the House of Stuart (Table p. xix)

§ 110. Mary's Fall and Flight to England, 1567-1569 — The results of Mary's adventures in matrimony seemed to justify Elizabeth's preference for spinsterhood. Darnley, a jealous and vicious weakling, was murdered after less than two years of married life, and, when Mary proceeded to marry his murderer, the Earl of Bothwell, she strengthened the suspicions already entertained of her connection with the crime, and provoked the active hostility of the Scottish nobles. Her defeat at Carberry Hill, in June 1567, was followed by her deposition and imprisonment, and when she escaped from prison in May 1568 she was defeated by Moray at Langside, near Glasgow. Her subsequent flight to England placed Elizabeth in an embarrassing position: was she to restore her rival, or let her go free to make friends elsewhere, or try to render her harmless by detaining her in captivity? After a Royal Commission, sitting at York, had held a brief enquiry into Mary's conduct—leaving her character in the position it still occupies, that of an unsolved problem—it was decided to adopt the method of disguised imprisonment.

§ 111. The Rising of the Northern Earls, 1569 — For the next nineteen years Mary Queen of Scots remained in England and became the centre of a long series of intrigues against Elizabeth. When the plots were thickest, she was made a close prisoner: at other times she was treated as a kind of compulsory guest. She had not been in England much more than a year when, in October 1569, the murmurings of the Catholic North broke out into open rebellion (cf. § 73). The object was to rescue Mary, place her on the English throne, marry her either to the Duke of Norfolk or to Don John of Austria, and restore England to the Roman obedience. The Earl of Sussex, President of the North, suppressed the rising with difficulty: its leaders, Thomas Percy and Charles Neville, Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland respectively, took refuge in Scotland. There the "Queen's Party" raised its head in consequence of the English insurrection and the assassination of the Regent Moray in January 1570, and it was only by the intervention of Elizabeth in 1573 that the Castle of Edinburgh was recovered for the young King.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, 1570-1603

A. PERSONAL HISTORY.—See previous chapter

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	SCOTLAND	TURKEY
Pius V (1566)	Maximilian II (1564)	Charles IX (1560)	Philip II (1556)	James VI (1567)	Selim II (1566)
Gregory XIII (1572)		Henry III (1574)		(His mother Mary de- posed, 1567 executed, 1587)	Murad III (1574)
Sixtus V (1585)	Rudolf II (1576-1612)				
Urban VII (1590)		Henry IV (1589- 1610)			
Gregory XIV (1590)		(<i>First Bour- bon King of France</i>)	Philip III (1598-1621)		
Innocent IX (1591)					Muhammad III (1596-1603)
Clement VIII (1592-1605)					

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

(i) International: relations with—

- (1) Papacy §§ 112, 113, 115, 116,
119-121
- (2) France §§ 115, 116, 118, 123,
124, 127
- (3) Spain §§ 115-119, 121-128
- (4) United Provinces §§ 122, 123
- (5) Portugal §§ 122, 127
- (6) The East Indies § 127
- (7) Scotland §§ 123, 125

(ii) Constitutional.

- (1) Royal Succession §§ 113, 125
- (2) Elizabeth's Courtships §§ 115,
119, 123
- (3) Church §§ 113, 114, 118, 121,
129
- (4) Penal Statutes §§ 113, 120,
129
- (5) Parliament §§ 113, 114, 117,
118, 120, 129, 130
- (6) Plots §§ 111, 117, 122, 125
- (7) Maritime Enterprise §§ 116,
119, 124, 126, 127
- (8) Ireland §§ 117, 121, 128

I THE PAPAL ATTACK, 1570-1584.

§ 112 **Papal Bull of Deposition, 1570** —When Mary passed behind the scenes as a captive, the leadership in the attacks on Elizabeth was assumed by the three energetic Popes who successively held office from 1566 to 1590—Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Sixtus V. These Popes put themselves at the head of the movement, known as the Counter-Reformation, which, formulated at the Council

of Trent (1545-1563), was making firm the hold of Rome on Southern Europe, and even winning ground from Protestantism in Germany itself. Their plan of action against England was to keep up the spirits of the waning majority that still clung to Rome in their hearts, and, when a suitable opportunity should present itself, to set Mary on all the three British thrones by means of a rising of English Romanists backed by foreign help. But Pius V., like Paul III. thirty years before (cf. § 74), missed the great opportunity offered by the Northern Insurrection, and did not declare open war on England until the following year. In May 1570 he published in England his *Bull of Excommunication and Deposition* against Elizabeth. This Bull, known from its opening words as *Reynans in Excelsis*, strictly charged all good Catholics to avoid the sin of keeping any oaths of allegiance to Elizabeth, who, being a bastard, a heretic, and a usurper, was unfit to rule over Christians. The Bull called upon all Englishmen to choose once and for all between the Pope and the Queen: it is one of the great landmarks of English History.

§ 113. **English Anti-Papal Legislation, 1571.**—English dislike of foreign interference enabled Elizabeth to make a quick and defiant retort to the Bull. Her third Parliament declared it to be high treason to claim Elizabeth's crown, to affirm, without parliamentary authority, that any other person ought to be reigning instead of Elizabeth, or to call her "a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, usurper of the crown." By another Act, Parliament made it high treason to import Papal Bulls or reconcile persons to the See of Rome, and subjected to the penalties of *praemunire* all who imported or used religious symbols and pictures blessed by the Bishop of Rome or his deputies. No religious belief or conscientious scruple was allowed to excuse attempts to upset the existing political status of England, as a sovereign power whose rulers were responsible to God alone.

§ 114. **The Rise of Puritanism, 1566-1571.**—The political attack of the Papacy was met by political measures of defence; but when certain members of the House of Commons sought to use the attack as a reason for further reformation of the Church, Elizabeth barred the way. She held that her supremacy over the Church included the sole right of initiative in ecclesiastical legislation. When, therefore, Strickland introduced a Bill for the amendment of the Prayer-Book in the session of 1571, she ordered him to absent himself from the House; and though she recalled the order, when the Commons insisted that it was an infringement of their privilege

of Freedom of Debate, the objectionable Bill was dropped (cf. § 109). Quite apart from the point of method, Elizabeth did not wish the Prayer-Book or any part of her church-settlement to be tampered with · she thought the nation had had enough of changes, and wished them to grow accustomed to her compromise. But the innovating party, no less than the reactionary party, was becoming aggressive: in 1565 they had protested loudly against Archbishop Parker's enforcement of the use of vestments, and about that time their demands for a "purer" form of worship won them the nickname of "Puritans" As yet, these Puritans conformed to the Church, but strove to mould it to their liking The Court of High Commission—a mixed body, to which the disciplinary powers of the Royal Supremacy were delegated from time to time (§§ 103, 170)—had much ado to keep them in order, and the Star Chamber sought to prevent the publication of their opinions by keeping a strict watch over the number and products of the Printing Press. The rule of the Church, as by law established, was much clearer in ritual than in doctrine In 1571, therefore, Parliament passed a law requiring all Anglican clergymen to assent to the *Thirty-nine Articles of Faith and Religion*—which Queen and Convocation had constructed in 1563 out of the *Forty-two Articles* of Edward VI's reign

§ 115 Attitude of France and Spain to Elizabeth, 1570

—The Pope had declared war against Elizabeth, but he found it difficult to marshal his forces for the attack the English Romanists dared not move without foreign help, and the two chief princes who were pledged to the Papacy were much more influenced by their political jealousies than by their religious duty of joining in a crusade against the heretic queen. Besides, both Philip II and Charles IX. had special difficulties in the year 1570. Philip's chief difficulty lay in the Netherlands, which had fallen to his share in the partition of the Hapsburg inheritance, and where his attempts to establish a centralized despotism, ecclesiastical and civil, on the ruins of local liberties had raised serious disturbances. From 1567 to 1573 the Duke of Alva was engaged there in restoring peace by high-handed measures which roused a deeper resentment than they stilled. France, under the weak descendants of Francis I. (1547–1589), was a prey to party-struggles and religious wars: its foreign policy was uncertain in the extreme. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign it was ranged on the side of Mary against Elizabeth, but the dissolution of the Valois-Stuart connection had changed the situation. On the whole England and France had so much to fear from the might of Philip, should he once surmount his

domestic difficulties, that they constantly tended towards amity. When Pope Pius launched his Bull against Elizabeth in 1570 negotiations were proceeding for her marriage to Henry, Duke of Anjou, younger brother and afterwards successor of Charles IX.; and during the greater part of the reign alliance with France was the corner-stone of Elizabeth's foreign policy.

§ 116. **English Trespassing on Spanish Preserves, 1562-1568.**—England and France were alike interested in keeping Philip's hands too full with his own concerns to leave him leisure to meddle in other people's. They were especially anxious to prevent him from getting a firm footing in the Netherlands, lest thereby he should acquire a good vantage ground for aggressive action against either State. Both Governments, therefore, connived at the action of their own religious malcontents in giving aid to the growing Protestant element in the ranks of the Netherlandish insurgents. Elizabeth and her subjects were also able, without going to open war, to cripple Philip by cutting off his money-supplies. In 1568 Elizabeth hampered Alva seriously by the temporary detention of some treasure-ships which were conveying money for the pay of the Spanish troops in the Netherlands. In the same year Francis Drake had his first serious brush with the Spaniards in the New World. Spain and Portugal considered—and the Pope Alexander VI had formally sanctioned the view in a Bull of 1495*—that they had the sole right of visiting and trading with those parts of the world which they had revealed to the knowledge of Europe. But after long acquiescence in this assumption, the hardy seamen of Devon had begun to visit the Spanish dominions in America—combining, like the Norse vikings of old, the functions of trader and pirate, as opportunity offered. In 1562 John Hawkins began the lucrative business of supplying the Spanish colonies in America with negro slaves. This example was widely followed; the visits were regarded by the Spanish authorities as unlawful, and English traders were punished, when caught, either as trespassers or as heretics; stories of Spanish cruelty spread abroad, and the first ten years of Elizabeth witnessed the beginning of a chronic state of war between Englishmen and Spaniards in the dark corners of the West Indies and the Spanish Main. "There was no peace beyond the [Papal] Line." (See Map, p. 28.)

* This bull drew an imaginary line 100 leagues west of the Azores, and gave the countries west of the line to Spain and those east to Portugal. Next year the line was shifted some 170 leagues further west. After the Reformation, Englishmen no longer acquiesced in the Papal partition of the New World.

§ 117. **The Rudolf Plot, 1571.**—Though Philip suffered much from the action of Elizabeth's subjects in America and the Low Countries, he did not wish as yet to cumber himself with a war against England. He would not even help the Northern Rising of 1569, or the contemporary insurrections in the South of Ireland. But his objections to Mary as a rival of Elizabeth had disappeared with the former's French connections; and he therefore gave his secret patronage to the more promising schemes for Elizabeth's removal. One of the most notable of such schemes was arranged in 1571 by Robert Rudolf, a Florentine banker resident in England. Elizabeth was to be murdered; Alva was then to land 10,000 troops to aid Mary to obtain the throne; Mary was to marry the only English Duke, Norfolk, who was to return to the Roman obedience. About half the peerage, it is said, agreed to support the scheme. Cecil, now Lord Burghley, discovered the plot towards the end of 1571; and in the following year Norfolk was attainted by Parliament and beheaded. Parliament also urged the execution of "the pretended Scottish Queen," but Elizabeth would not yet listen to the united prayers of the Commons and of her ministers. But, like her father, she used the parliamentary demonstration as a proof that she had the nation on her side.

§ 118. **Murmurings against Episcopacy, 1572**—The discovery of Spanish complicity in the Rudolf plot caused a brief rupture between England and Spain; the slaughter of Huguenots, known as the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's, August 24, 1572, caused a momentary breach with France; and both circumstances alike quickened the rising Protestantism of England. The failure of Elizabeth's fourth Parliament in its first session, 1572, to pass any bills either for the reform of the Church, or for the further repression of "Papists," called forth a strong protest entitled, *An Admonition to Parliament*. The author was Dr Thomas Cartwright, sometime Professor of Divinity at Cambridge—then, as usual, the home of "advanced" opinions, in opposition to the normal conservatism of Oxford. In this "Admonition" Cartwright maintained the principle of the independence of the national church from the control of the civil government, and, for the better attainment of this independence, urged the substitution of a *presbyterian* for an *episcopalian* polity in the Church of England. The fundamental idea of Presbyterianism is that all the ministers of the Gospel (*i. e.* presbyters or elders) are by divine appointment equal in rank; it denies the right of any higher "order," such as bishops, "to lord it

over God's heritage"; and it lays great stress on the corporate action of the Church in assemblies. Cartwright's advocacy of Presbyterianism began a long controversy in England, but it had little effect at the time. Elizabeth, a woman of action, was not fond of assemblies or debating-societies: she used Parliament and Convocation as little as possible; and in 1577 she suspended Grindal, Parker's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, for refusing to suppress a particular kind of diocesan theological debates called *Prophesyings*.

§ 119. **Matrimonial Schemes and Maritime Enterprises, 1572-1579.**—There was a comparative lull during the rest of the seventies. At times, when intervention by England or France, jointly or separately, in the Netherlands, appeared imminent, the negotiations for a marriage between Elizabeth and Henry II.'s youngest son, Francis, Duke of Alençon-Anjou (Table, p. 45) became active. This period was also full of those maritime exploits which have been glowingly depicted in Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* In 1576-7 Martin Frobisher made two voyages in search of a north-west passage to the Indies: he failed, but he has left his name in Frobisher's Strait. In 1575 an Englishman, John Oxenham, first sailed on the Pacific. Drake had caught sight of that Ocean two years before and vowed to sail an English ship in those seas. In 1577 he started on his three years' voyage round the world, in which, sailing round Cape Horn, he plundered the unprotected Spanish towns on the western coast of America and returned by the Cape of Good Hope. Elizabeth apologized to Philip II., took her share of the booty, and gave Drake a knighthood.

§ 120 **Jesuit Invasion of the British Isles, 1579-1581.**—During Drake's absence the onslaught which Pius V. had threatened was made by his successor, Gregory XIII. It is known as the Jesuit Invasion, because its chief instruments were members of that "Society of Jesus" which a group of zealous Spaniards had founded in 1534 for the preservation of the unity of the Latin Church, and which had done more than any other agency to arrest the flowing tide of Protestantism in Europe. Gregory XIII. grew tired of waiting till secular princes were at liberty to devote their resources to the cause of the religion which they professed to make their dearest aim in life; and in 1579-1581 he despatched a small number of Jesuits to stir up disaffection throughout the British Isles. In Scotland the attempt, after a momentary promise of success, roused the nation to express its sense of peril by the form-

ation of the *First National Covenant*, 1581. In England the landing of the Jesuits, Campion and Parsons, in the spring of 1580, was the signal for the final abandonment of attempts at conciliation, and for an outburst of penal legislation against converts to Rome and their converters. At the end of the year Campion was caught and executed; and before the end of the reign more than two hundred persons died on the scaffold for their work in a cause which they considered religious, and which their captors with equal justice considered to be political. The difference between the Marian and the Elizabethan persecution is simply that the former was carried out in the cause of religious tenets, the latter in the cause of national safety.

§ 121. *Ireland under Elizabeth, 1558-1584.*—The Jesuit Invasion assumed its most dangerous aspect in Ireland. There, as we have seen, Henry VIII. had set himself seriously to the task of anglicizing and anglicanizing the natives. Whatever chances of success his schemes may have had were ruined by his death, the rapid and contradictory changes of the two short reigns which followed were even more unsettling to Ireland than to England; and Elizabeth practically had to begin her father's work over again. Ireland was regarded by Elizabethan politicians partly as a place which no other Power must be allowed to get, partly as a handy rubbish-heap on which to "plant" the offscourings of English society. Philip and Mary had started the method of plantation—i. e. of settling colonies of Englishmen on the lands of dispossessed Irish tribes—in King's County and Queen's County. Various attempts were made under Elizabeth to repeat the experiment—especially in the parts where the rule of England was still merely nominal, viz. in Ulster and Munster. Shane O'Neil, a chieftain of Tyrone, kept Elizabeth's forces at bay during the first six years of her reign. The fear of a plantation in Munster caused risings by the Desmond Geraldines in 1569, and again in 1579. It was the second Desmond Rising which Gregory XIII. hoped to turn to his own purposes: the agrarian discontent against England was to be fanned into a religious uprising on behalf of the Papacy. The rebellion broke out; a Papal Legate and a few Spanish soldiers landed to support it in 1580; Lord Grey de Wilton—who figures as *Arthegal* in the "*Faerie Queen*" of his friend, the poet Spenser—destroyed the Spaniards at Smerwick, and crushed the rebels by sword, by fire, and by famine. The last sparks of the rebellion were stamped out by 1584, and the threatened plantation took place.

Edmund Spenser and Sir Walter Raleigh were among the persons to whom the confiscated lands were allotted for purposes of plantation or colonization.

§ 122. The Revolt of the United Netherlands, 1581-1584.—The slenderness of Philip's support of the Desmond Rising was due to his other engagements: in 1580 he was making good his hereditary claims to Portugal; and in 1581 the seven northern provinces in the Netherlands formed a federal union and, abandoning the attempt to wring constitutional safeguards from him, declared themselves independent. It was, however, becoming more obvious that his war against England could not long be postponed, and Mary's adherents again began to be active. In 1583 Throgmorton's plot to assassinate Elizabeth was discovered. In the following year a successful attempt was made to assassinate the founder of the Dutch Republic, William the Silent, Prince of Orange.

II THE STRUGGLE WITH SPAIN, 1585-1603.

§ 123 Elizabeth's Intervention in the Netherlands, 1585-6.—The death of William the Silent and of Elizabeth's most enduring suitor, the Duke of Alençon-Anjou, in the summer of 1584, had much influence in forcing matters to a crisis. William's death made the speedy subjugation of the revolted Netherlands highly probable: the certainty that their conquest would be followed by an invasion of England compelled Elizabeth in self-defence to swallow her dislike of "rebels" and make close alliances both with James VI. of Scots and with the United Provinces. In 1585 she sent her old friend Leicester with a powerful army to the Netherlands: the enterprise is notable less for its achievements than for the death of Sir Philip Sidney, one of the best types of Elizabethan chivalry, in a skirmish near Zutphen, in September 1586. Again, the fear lest Elizabeth should meet the same fate as William the Liberator caused a great outburst of patriotic feeling in England. One effect of this was the formation of a strong private Association pledged to prevent Mary from profiting by the murder of her rival (cf. § 293).

§ 124. Philip's Alliance with the Guises, 1585-6.—The death of Alençon-Anjou made it quite certain that the male line of the House of Valois would expire with Henry III. (Table, p. 45). The next heir was Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, the fact that he was a Huguenot rendered him objectionable to the Roman Catholic majority in France headed by the House of Guise; and in 1585 their leaders entered into a compact with Philip to prevent the Bourbon heretic from coming to the throne. With France friendly

and the Netherlands all but conquered, Philip would at length be free to carry into effect the Papal deposition of Elizabeth. The continued plundering by English seamen in his domains was also rendering him desperate. In 1586 Drake, with the Queen's connivance plundered Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, San Domingo in Hispaniola (Hayti), and Cartagena on the Spanish Main.

§ 125. Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, 1587.—Philip despite these provocations, was not eager to undertake an expensive expedition, the main benefit of which would go to another person. But in February 1587 Mary was at length brought to the block on the ground that her promotion, or at least encouragement, of Babington's plot to assassinate Elizabeth had exposed her to the death penalties of the Succession Act of 1571. The justice and the wisdom of her execution have alike been disputed what is quite certain is that her death and her bequest of her English claims to Philip were the one thing necessary to induce Philip to attempt the invasion of England. He had long been preparing his fleet, or armada, and the expedition would probably have started in the very year of Mary's death, had not Drake destroyed a portion of it in Cádiz harbour. This exploit Drake pleasantly styled "singeing the King of Spain's beard."

§ 126. The Coming and Going of the Spanish Armada, 1588.—Elizabeth had so successfully staved off Philip's invasion for thirty years that she could no longer believe in its taking place. She therefore refused to follow her naval experts' advice to take the offensive and destroy the different portions of the fleet piecemeal in the harbours of the Peninsula. The Armada, thus allowed to concentrate undisturbed, made its appearance off the Lizard on July 13, 1588. It sailed slowly up Channel, and a fortnight later it cast anchor in Calais roads: where it was to cover the embarkation of 20,000 veterans under the Prince of Parma, Philip's commander in the Netherlands. Meanwhile the English fleet—including only 34 royal vessels and five times that number of private ships—had been steadily following the Armada, inflicting what damage it could and before Parma's embarkation could take place, the English commanders threw the Armada into confusion by sending fire-ships adrift in their midst, and then, attacking before the Spanish ships could re-form, drove the invading fleet northwards. The south-west wind which had hitherto favoured the Armada now stiffened into a gale; it was impossible to return through the Straits of Dover; and in attempting to sail round the weather-beaten coasts of Scotland and Ireland most of the ships were wrecked. Only 53 out

of 132 vessels reached Spain in safety. Elizabeth and Philip agreed in ascribing the failure of the enterprise to wind and wave; but in point of fact the Armada was foiled in fair fight before it was ruined by foul weather. The superiority of the English in both the building and the handling of ships gave them the advantage in the running fight up Channel and in the final victory off Gravelines. In that victory Drake and Hawkins took a leading part under the supreme command of Lord Howard of Effingham.

§ 127 Results of the Defeat of the Armada—The defeat of the Armada forms the climax of the Tudor Period. It finally secured the civil and ecclesiastical independence of England; it made the Tudor despotism cease to be a necessary condition of English safety, and so left the way open for the parliamentary struggle of the following century, it gave the English the command of the sea and a fuller confidence in themselves. It was now only a question of time when the English would effectively claim a share in the New World and in the commerce of the East. Sir Walter Raleigh's futile attempts to colonize Virginia in the decade preceding the Armada were not, indeed, destined to be successfully followed up during the reign of Elizabeth, but in 1600 an East India Company was founded in London and began to trade with the East Indies. During the rest of the war with Spain the initiative fell to England. the chief exploits were the Portugal Voyage, or Counter-Armada, of 1589, in aid of the native claimant of the Portuguese throne against Philip II.; Grenville's heroic fight on the *Revenge* "at Flores in the Azores" in 1591; the capture of Cadiz by the young Earl of Essex in 1596, and the Island Voyage of Essex and Raleigh to the Azores in 1597. Elizabeth also played her part in securing the throne of France to Henry IV. in the nine years' war which ended in 1598 with the *Edict of Nantes*, granting toleration to the Huguenots, and with the Franco-Spanish *Peace of Verma*. It was largely due to the efforts of England that nearly all Philip II.'s enterprises had ended in failure before his death in 1598.

§ 128. The Rebellion of Hugh O'Neil, 1596-1603.—Philip II.'s death had a fatal effect on the most promising effort which the Irish have ever made to regain their independence. In 1596 Hugh O'Neil, who bore the title Earl of Tyrone, foreseeing the impending overthrow of his semi-independence in Ulster, resolved to make an attempt to thrust the English altogether out of Ireland. His victory at the battle of the Yellow Ford in 1598

encouraged most of the Irish tribes and many of the Anglo-Irish families,—the old foes being reconciled by their common allegiance to Rome and their common danger of being despoiled by new hordes of Englishmen—to throw in their lot with the O'Neil. Essex, the favourite of Elizabeth's declining years, utterly failed to do anything effective against the rebellion in 1599; and it took his successor, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, three years to bring O'Neil to submission a few days before Elizabeth's death. The most important event in the later history of the rebellion was the occupation of Kinsale by a large Spanish force in the last three months of the year 1601.

§ 129. Recusants and Separatists, 1588-1598—Though the defeat of the Armada had removed the danger of foreign conquest, the coercive legislation against religious malcontents continued to be enforced (§§ 113, 120). Further laws were passed in 1593 both against those who, in obedience to the Pope's orders, refused to go to church (*Recusants*) and against those who stayed away from church because they considered the Elizabethan ritual "Popish" (*Separatists*). Three of the latter class, Greenwood, Barrow, and Penry, were executed in 1593. Five years later, the deaths of Burghley and Philip II deprived Elizabeth of her best friend and her worst enemy; she had done her work and outlived her generation, she grew weary of the wrangling among the young men around her—Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley's younger son, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Essex was her favourite, and he returned her favours, after his failure in Ireland, by making insurrection against the ministers of her choice.

§ 130. Elizabeth's Last Years and Death, 1601-1603.—In the year of Essex's execution, 1601, Elizabeth met her tenth and last Parliament. This Parliament selected the most successful experiments of the Tudor period in providing food and shelter for the helpless poor and punishment for the wilfully idle, and embodied these in the Act known as the *First General Poor Law*. It was this Parliament also which protested so loudly against Elizabeth's practice of granting monopolies—the exclusive right of making and selling articles of commerce—that Elizabeth felt constrained to promise the withdrawal of such monopolies as should prove harmful to the consumer. There were signs that Parliament was growing less submissive and accepted Elizabeth's masterfulness towards it only out of respect for her age. Worn out by work and worry, she died in March 1603.

BOOK II.

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, 1603-1660,

BEING

THE STUART PERIOD. PART I.

I GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 131. **Retrospect, 1485-1603.**—In the preceding book we have watched the many-sided development of the great movements known as the Reformation and the Renaissance, with particular attention to England. In *international* politics we have seen the House of Hapsburg—long united under the Emperor Charles V., and then divided into two branches, of which the Spanish branch under Philip II. was the more prominent—take a leading position in Western Europe (Table, p. 45), and we have seen the might of Spain successfully resisted by France, under the new reigning House of Bourbon, by the United Netherlands, under the House of Orange, and by England, under the House of Tudor. In *constitutional* politics we have seen England, in the hands of a strong monarchy trusted by the people, asserting its independence, both as a Church and as a State, of all foreign control, and successfully vindicating that independence by the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The Tudor Period also witnessed the incorporation of Wales in the kingdom of England (§ 76), the completion of the first English conquest of Ireland (§ 128); the gradual tendency of the kingdoms of England and Scotland towards personal union; the loss of the last foothold of England on the mainland of Europe (§ 100); and the small beginnings of English commercial and colonial enterprise outside Europe (§ 127).

§ 132. **International Politics, 1603-1688.**—In the seventeenth century France gradually assumed the leading position held by Spain in the sixteenth century, Henry IV., Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, and Louis XIV. successively guided her fortunes, and one and all made it their first object to gain strength and territory at the expense of the House of Hapsburg. During the first half of the century the Austrian branch of the Hapsburgs was the principal object of attack: the attempt of the Hapsburg Emperor to crush Protestantism and unite Germany under his rule was thwarted in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), as in the Schmalkaldic War (§ 87), by the efforts of France. After the German part of the war was

ended by the great *Peace of Westphalia*, 1648, France continued fighting with Spain until the *Peace of the Pyrenees*, 1659, and a few years later began the two wars which were concluded respectively by the *Peace of Aachen* or *Aix-la-Chapelle*, 1668, and the *Peace of Nymwegen*, 1678. England was too much occupied at home to play any great part in the Thirty Years' War, but she intervened in its Franco-Spanish continuation during Cromwell's time, and in the two wars which followed it in the reign of Charles II. Neither her non-intervention nor her method of intervention (except, perhaps, under Oliver Cromwell) was greatly liked by Englishmen: in foreign politics, as in domestic politics, the Stuarts commonly failed to carry the approval of their subjects. But the times were difficult; and it was only by slow degrees that a national policy was evolved. At first both England and the United Provinces tended to retain their Elizabethan attitude of alliance with France and hostility towards Spain; in the middle of the century the English and the Dutch came to blows over the division of the colonial spoil which they had wrested from the Hispano-Portuguese monarchy, and it was not till after the Protestant Revolution of 1688 that the Protestant Sea-Powers agreed to shelve their commercial differences and make common cause with the Protestant principalities of Germany against Louis XIV, the champion of Roman Catholicism and the embodiment of the overwhelming power of France.

§ 133 The Hundred Years' Constitutional Conflict, 1588-1688.—The defeat of the Spanish Armada definitely decided that no *external* power was to control England, and so made the path safe for disputes as to what *internal* power should control her. The Tudor monarchs had had things pretty much their own way, and the Stuart monarchs thought that they had a right to the same authority as their predecessors had possessed. But both circumstances and persons had changed. With the removal of the possibility of foreign conquest, professedly due to either religious or dynastic motives (§ 106), vanished also the need of the Tudor dictatorship. Nor were the Stuarts made of the same stuff as the Tudors: they had less administrative ability; they were less keen to distinguish between the possible and the impossible; and they had a positive genius for getting out of touch with their subjects. The manner in which the Stuarts exercised the powers of the Kingship led to a series of varied attacks on the powers themselves: hence the Stuart Period was a time of almost chronic constitutional conflict, in the spheres both of Church and of State.

§ 134 (i) **In the Church.**—It was the religious question which throughout gave its distinctive colour to the period. Elizabeth's settlement had been purposely broad, so that, if possible, every one might find room for his opinions, as heretofore, within the pale of the English Church (§§ 103, 105). But men were too deeply interested in religious matters to be content to conform they wanted the Church remodelled according to their own views. Now the Stuarts and their bishops, from the beginning, were out of sympathy with the majority of Englishmen. They began by trying to soften down the *Thirty-Nine Articles* of 1563-1571 in accordance with the teachings of the Dutch theologian Arminius: later, under Laud's influence, they endeavoured to restore the pre-Reformation ceremonial of the English Church. But the mass of Englishmen were Calvinistic in *doctrine*, and Puritan in *worship*; and so it came to pass that, offended in both these respects by the action of their ecclesiastical rulers, they grew dissatisfied with the existing system of *church-government*. In the great struggle which took place in the middle of the century (1640-1660), Presbyterianism, an oligarchic form of church-government, and Congregationalism, a democratic form of self-government by voluntary associations, were successively tried and found wanting; and with the restoration of a modified Kingship in 1660 a modified Episcopacy was also restored. At the end of the period the Church thus constituted succeeded in thwarting James II's attempt to lead or drive her back into the obedience of Rome (1689), but only on condition of permitting those Protestants who could not accept her ritual and government to worship as they pleased, except Unitarians (§§ 270, 277). *Religious toleration*, still in its infancy, was the most novel and substantial result of the period. men were to be allowed, within certain limits and under certain disabilities, to live in habitual revolt against the law of the State in so momentous a thing as religion.

§ 135. (ii) **In the State**—Questions of civil politics were as varied in form as the ecclesiastical questions with which they were throughout intermingled. The Stuarts found the Kingship the dominant factor in English politics, and strove to make it the only one. In their attempt to set up a new theory of kingship—whereby it alone had a "divine right" to exist, and all other institutions and laws of the land rested on its sufferance—and in their efforts to turn the Tudor innovations in government into constitutional rules, they were slowly beaten all along the line. Parliament, looking back beyond that sixteenth century from which the Stuarts drew their

precedents, asserted as early as 1604 that it had as much right to live as the King had (§§ 144, 149, 170); by the Puritan Revolution which ended in 1660 it may be said to have made this assertion good (§§ 212, 213); by the Protestant Revolution of 1688-9 it laid the foundations, and did something towards erecting the superstructure, of that sovereignty of Parliament which was the very antithesis of *Jure Divino* Monarchy (§§ 270-272). So too with the pretensions based partly on this theory, partly on a late prescription: the King's claims to have powers of taxation by Prerogative—whether in the form of extra-customs dues (1606-1628), or grants of Monopolies (1624), or Forced Loans and Benevolences (1614-1628), or Tonnage and Poundage (1625-1641), or by the revival of obsolete ante-parliamentary taxes like Ship-Money (1634-1641)—to have summary powers of imprisonment like those which all other states but England allowed and still allow to be necessary for good government (1629, 1679), to have the complete control of the administration (1621, 1678), and to have some power of making (1610), and wholesale power of unmaking, laws (1673, 1689)—all these claims were successfully repudiated at the times indicated.

§ 136. General Results of the Period—Such were a few of the constitutional questions raised, and to some extent answered, during the Stuart Period. It is to be remembered that there were also constitutional questions being disputed in the sister-kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland; and that the settlement of each question in each kingdom was constantly liable to be affected by events in the other kingdoms and by international considerations. On the whole, England and Scotland obtained what they respectively wanted, while Ireland had to put up with what the two kingdoms in Britain chose to give her. For England itself, the main constitutional results were the complete break-up of her ecclesiastical unity, the definite acquisition by Parliament of an effective control over the raising and spending of public money, and the beginnings of the system by which Parliament obtained an equally effective, though less direct, control over the general conduct of affairs. *Beginnings only*: it is essential to realize that party-government and the ultimate sovereignty of the electorate, which are such familiar facts to us now, were but vague ideas in the seventeenth century.

II. THE FIRST STUART STRUGGLE, 1603-1660.

§ 137. The Two Main Phases of the Stuart Period.—The above survey of the Stuart Period as a whole brings out the general

features which give it a distinctive character and unity of its own. But it is important to recognize that there was much diversity within this unity: both the prominent problems and the conditions under which they were taken in hand changed from time to time. There is especially a marked difference between the two principal phases of the period: the first Stuart struggle lasted nearly sixty years—from 1603 to 1660; the second Stuart struggle lasted only about half as long—from 1660 to 1688. The first struggle, or its crisis, is commonly known as the *Puritan* Revolution: the second struggle, or its crisis, is commonly known as the *Protestant* Revolution. These labels at once call attention to one of the striking differences between the two phases of the Stuart Period. The first struggle, on its ecclesiastical side, turned on the question whether the Church of England should regard, as the Puritans wished, the Bible as its sole authority, or should also take into account, as Laud's school wished, the general tendencies of the tradition of the Universal (or Catholic) Christian Church: in other words, was the Protestant Church of England to be *Evangelical* or *Catholic*? In the second struggle the two sons of Charles I.'s Roman Catholic queen, Henrietta Maria, endeavoured to make the Church of England cease to be Protestant and rejoin the Roman communion. The majority of Englishmen had quite made up their minds that they would have nothing to do with the Pope: hence the second Stuart struggle was much shorter, simpler, and more decisive than the first. In the first struggle, Parliament was fighting for *existence*: in the second it was fighting for *power*. Another leading point of difference between the two phases is that in the second struggle foreign policy took a permanent place throughout, whereas in the first struggle international politics became prominent only in the third and sixth decades of the century.

§ 138 Chief Stages in the First Stuart Struggle.—The first struggle falls into various sub-periods which mark more or less clearly defined stages of the constitutional contest. For the sake of clearness they may be thus set forth in numbered order:—

I. THE REIGN OF JAMES I., 1603–1625 (ch. vii.).

- (i) For nearly nine years, 1603–1612, during Salisbury's ministry, James I. had a number of petty quarrels with his First Parliament (§§ 139–145): hence—
- (ii) For another nine years, 1612–1621, he endeavoured to rule—except for a moment in 1614—without a Parliament (§§ 146–148).

- (iii) During the last four years of his reign, 1621–1625, foreign affairs rose to the surface and formed the principal source of contention in James I.'s last two parliaments (§§ 149–151).

II. THE REIGN OF CHARLES I, 1625–1649 (ch viii, ix).

- (i) During the first four years, 1625–1629, Charles made a series of attempts to reduce his first three parliaments to what he conceived to be their proper function—saying “yea” or “nay” according to his bidding (§§ 152–159).
- (ii) In the next eleven years, 1629–1640, he ruled England without a Parliament, and managed fairly well until his church policy roused a resistance in Scotland, which he could not put down without the money aid of the English Parliament (§§ 160–167).
- (iii) For two years, 1640–1642, he made concession after concession to his Fifth Parliament—only to find that there was apparently no limit to its demands, and that there seemed to be no other way of settling whether King or Parliament was to have the real mastery of public affairs than by an appeal to arms (§§ 168–175).
- (iv) In August 1642 civil war broke out in England, as it had already broken out in Scotland (1638) and in Ireland (1641); and this war lasted, so far as England was concerned, until Charles took refuge with the Scots in 1646 (§§ 176–189).
- (v) For nearly three years, 1646–1649, the captive king formed the active centre of intrigues which culminated in the second civil war of 1648, and the King's “execution” as a “traitor” on January 30, 1649 (§§ 190–194).

III. THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649–1660 (ch x.)

The King's attempts to do without Parliament were answered by the equally abortive attempts of Parliament to do without the King—

- (i) *The Parliamentary Republic*, 1649–1653, proved triumphant over its Irish, Scottish, and Dutch assailants, but was overthrown by its own army (§§ 195–202).
- (ii) *The Presidential Republic*, 1653–1659, gave rise to many notable parliamentary, ecclesiastical, and diplomatic experiments, but fell to pieces after the premature death of its head, the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell (§§ 203–209).
- (iii) *The Year of Anarchy*, 1659–1660, was marked by renewed quarrels between parliamentary and military leaders, and was ended by Monk's restoration of the Stuarts (§§ 210–211).

CHAPTER VII.

JAMES I, 1603-1625.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY—Son of Mary Queen of Scots, by her second husband and cousin, Henry, Lord Darnley, born in Edinburgh Castle, June 19, 1566, succeeded his deposed mother as James VI of Scots, July 24, 1567, crowned at Stirling five days later, succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England, March 24, 1603, crowned at Westminster, July 25, 1603, married Anne of Denmark (*d* 1619), 1589, died at Theobalds, Herts, March 27, 1625, buried at Westminster For his descent, see Table, p xix for his descendants, see Table, p xx

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	TURKEY	ELSEWHERE
Clement VIII (1592) Leo XI (1605) Paul V (1605)	Rudolf II (1576)	Henry IV (1589) (<i>First Bourbon King of France</i>) Louis XIII (1610)	Philip III (1598)	Ahmad I (1613-1617)	Sigismund III, <i>Poland</i> (1566-1632) Gustav Adolf, <i>Sweden</i> (1611-1632) Michael <i>Russia</i> (1613-1645) (<i>the first Tsar of the House of Romanov</i>)
Gregory XV (1621)	Matthias (1612)		Philip IV (1621)	<i>Anarchy</i> Murad IV (1623)	
Urban VIII (1623)	Ferdinand II (1619)				

C. TOPICS OF THE REIGN

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| <p>(1) International: relations with—</p> <p>(1) Spain §§ 141, 143, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151.</p> <p>(2) The United Provinces §§ 141, 150</p> <p>(3) The Empire §§ 145, 148, 150, 151</p> <p>(4) France §§ 141, 151</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional</p> <p>(1) Succession Questions § 139</p> <p>(2) Church Questions §§ 142-4</p> <p>(3) Relations of England and Scotland §§ 140, 144</p> <p>(4) King and Parliament §§ 139, 141, 144, 146, 149, 151</p> <p>(5) Colonization §§ 140, 147.</p> |
|---|---|

I JAMES I. AND SALISBURY, 1603-1612.

§ 139. **James I.'s Accession and Title.**—On the death of Elizabeth, James VI. King of Scots was at once proclaimed King of England. He was the great-grandson of Henry VIII.'s elder sister Margaret (Table, p. xix), and now that the male line of the Tudors was extinct he was the nearest heir to the English throne. He was accepted as such by Elizabeth and her people: the first Act of his first Parliament declared that, on Elizabeth's decease, he had

straightway become King "by inherent birthright and lawful and undoubted succession." No one paid any attention to the claims of the House of Suffolk, which had been given preference over the House of Stuart in Henry VIII's will (§ 84). There were technical difficulties about the legal validity of that will: besides, there were many practical advantages in the union of the two British kingdoms under one monarch. Towards the end of 1603 there was a plot to overthrow Cecil and some talk of setting up the Lady Arabella Stuart in the room of her second cousin, and there was also a plot which aimed at forcing James to grant a measure of toleration to Roman Catholics. The former scheme was called "the Main Plot," the latter, "the Bye Plot", one or two persons were executed, and Raleigh was imprisoned, for treasonable complicity in them, but no proceedings were taken against the Lady Arabella until 1610, when her secret marriage with Sir William Seymour, the representative of the Suffolk claims, was thought dangerous enough to be punished by imprisonment (Table, p xix).

§ 140. **James I.'s British and Colonial Position.**—The accession of the Scots King to the throne of England and of its newly-conquered dependency, Ireland, brought the whole of the British Isles for the first time under the effective rule of a single monarch. Constitutionally speaking, the three kingdoms retained their several legal, ecclesiastical, and parliamentary systems; but from an international point of view the three kingdoms were regarded, and indeed acted, as one. James himself desired to turn this *personal union* of England and Scotland into an even more complete amalgamation than that achieved a century later, in 1707, but the still-existing national jealousies were so strong as to thwart his project. He and his successors formally styled themselves in diplomatic documents, and on their coins, "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland"; but "Great Britain" as a constitutional fact did not come into existence till Anne's reign. On the other hand, the real beginnings of what now we have come to call "Greater Britain" were made during the reign of the first English King who called himself "King of Great Britain." It was under James I. that Englishmen permanently established themselves in North America (1607), in the Bermudas (1609), and in the West Indies (Barbados, 1624): it was in his time, too, that the East India Company of London founded factories, or trading-depôts, in the Spice Islands, and began trading with India—the small nucleus of the great British Empire in India of our own day.

§ 141. **James I.'s Character and Advisers**—James I.'s reign forms a great landmark in British history; but this is not due to his own force of character. He was learned, especially in theology, and he had a keen political insight; but he had little tact or practical skill in dealing with men. His incapacity, coupled with his immense belief in himself and his Prerogative, caused England to take an inferior position in the international politics of his time; and this, together with his extravagance, brought him into constant conflicts with his Parliaments, which were no longer willing to play so subordinate a part as in Elizabeth's days. These quarrels were sufficiently marked during the first half of his reign, when he was guided by Burghley's younger son, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and after Salisbury's death in 1612, James endeavoured to avoid quarrels by calling Parliaments as seldom as possible. James's choice of Cecil as his chief adviser, and the contemporaneous imprisonment of Raleigh for complicity in the "Main Plot," involved the triumph of the peace-party over the war-party. In March 1604 the *Treaty of London* ended the Anglo-Spanish war; and five years later the *Truce of Antwerp*, negotiated under the mediation of England and France, brought to a formal close the hostilities between Spain and the United Netherlands.

§ 142. **The Hampton Court Conference, 1604.**—James affected the style and rôle of *Pacificus* or Peace-maker: he aspired to be a mediator not only in foreign politics, but also in ecclesiastical affairs at home. Much was hoped from him by the various religious parties in England which did not regard the Elizabethan church-settlement with approval. The Roman Catholics remembered that his mother had suffered martyrdom in their cause; the Puritans dwelt on his education by the staunch Calvinists of Scotland. But after some hesitation James put the penal statutes against Popish Recusants and Jesuits into force again, and when some Puritan ministers, during his journey southward to London, pressed their claims upon him in the *Milenary Petition*, they were speedily disillusioned. In January 1604 he was asked to preside at a conference held at Hampton Court between the two wings of the Church of England—the court clergy and some ministers of the reforming opinions. They discussed plans for making the Church of England broader in *non-essentials*—to allow the liberty of alternatives. The points raised were *ceremonies, prophesyings, confirmation* (in connection with the authority of a bishop), *doctrine*, and the best means to create a *preaching* ministry.

The close alliance between King and Bishops caused the rejection of nearly all the Puritan demands except that of a new translation of the Bible—the present *Authorised Version*, which appeared in 1611 James's own utterance at the Conference—"No Bishop, no King"—explains his partial restoration of Episcopacy in the Scots Kirk.

§ 143. **The Gunpowder Plot, 1605**—Disappointed in their expectations both of lenient treatment from James and of receiving armed aid from Spain, a handful of English Romanists formed a plot to blow up the Houses of Parliament, at the time when the King and the Prince of Wales were present at the opening of the session. The King's Council got wind of the scheme, through an anonymous letter, some ten days before the day appointed for the assembling of Parliament, Cecil allowed it to come almost to a head; on the eve of November 5, one of the principal instruments, Guy Fawkes, was arrested in the cellars beneath the Houses of Parliament; and most of the leaders were put to death during their flight or on the scaffold. The plot had not obtained either the support of the better classes of English Romanists or the official sanction of the Roman Church, none the less its discovery tended to increase the suspicions and dread of "Popery" already existing in the mind of the average Englishman (§ 99)

§ 144 **James I's First Parliament, 1604-1611**—Except in laying new disabilities on Roman Catholics—both laity and priests, especially Jesuits—Parliament was seldom in harmony with James I. His first Parliament, which had five sessions during the seven years of its existence, had frequent occasion to protest against his capricious treatment, and his methods of raising money. In its first session, 1604, it made him the usual life-grant, customary since Richard II.'s time, of Tunnage and Poundage, but it also asserted with vehemence and success that its privileges, especially in deciding disputed elections, and in the freedom of its members from arrest (cf §§ 109, 114), were not dependent on the King's good-will. In its second session, early in 1606, it passed some additional penal statutes; in its third session, 1606-7, it successfully opposed James's scheme for the closer union of England and Scotland; and in its last two sessions, in 1610 and 1611 respectively, it took up such a firm stand against James's financial methods that he dissolved the assembly in disgust. The most profitable of James's extra-parliamentary sources of revenue were the additional customs-dues levied by Prerogative. In 1606 the judges decided, in *Bate's Case*, that these *Impositions* were legal, and in 1608 a general

tariff was laid down in Lord Treasurer Salisbury's *Book of Rates*. Parliament could not abolish the Impositions, but it was able to wreck Salisbury's *Great Contract*—a plan for exchanging the King's uncertain feudal dues for a fixed parliamentary grant (§ 217).

§ 145. Death of Salisbury, 1612.—In May 1612 Salisbury died "of over much business", and in the same year James's eldest son Henry, the popular Prince of Wales, also died. The dissolution of the First Parliament marks the end of the Tudor relationship between King and Parliament the death of Salisbury marks the end of the Elizabethan tradition in foreign policy. His last act was to arrange the marriage, which took place in 1613, between James I.'s daughter Elizabeth and Frederick, the Elector Palatine. The Palatinate was one of the principal Protestant States of Germany, and the connection was welcomed now, as its results were a century afterwards (§ 323), by the Protestant majority in England. The later marriage alliances of the Stuarts were mostly with Roman Catholics.

II. JAMES UNDER SPANISH INFLUENCE, 1613-1625.

§ 146. Favourites and Undertakers, 1613-1616.—When told by the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, that all his ministers had been in the pay of Spain, James resolved henceforth to be his own chief minister, and to trust only his personal friends. Some of these—notably Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, who became Lord Chancellor in 1617—were men of practical ability, but the most prominent did not rise above the level of Court favourites. Such were Robert Carr, Duke of Somerset, who was disgraced in 1616 for his complicity in the murder of his friend Overbury, and George Villiers, who was quickly elevated to the rank of Duke of Buckingham (1618) and Lord High Admiral (1619), and for ten years was the leading personage in England (1618-1628). Buckingham was energetic, but neither of the new favourites was successful in action. Some of James's friends "undertook" to manage the second Parliament, which met in 1614, in such a way that it should be liberal in its supplies and generally amenable to the King's wishes (cf § 235). The "undertakers" failed completely. the assembly sat for two months without hatching a single measure, and was therefore nicknamed the "Addled Parliament." James was in such straits for money that he had to levy benevolences, to sell peerages and the new title of *baronet*, to release at a discount of 66 per cent. the towns which the Dutch had pledged to Elizabeth as security for

her loans, and to do his utmost to marry his son Charles to a Spanish princess for the sake of the dowry. For nearly ten years Gondomar was able to control the Court and Government of England by holding out hopes of a Spanish marriage.

§ 147. **Raleigh and the New World.**—The most striking illustrations of Spanish influence were given in James's attitude to Raleigh and to his own son-in-law. In 1617 Raleigh, weary of writing his *History of the World* in the Tower, obtained leave to go to Guiana to exploit a gold-mine. James disclosed his plans to Gondomar, and so enabled the Spaniards to take measures to thwart the expedition. Raleigh returned empty-handed, and was executed in October 1618, nominally under his old sentence for treason, really to gratify the Spanish desire for vengeance on the last survivor of the old Elizabethan adventurers. Raleigh was a failure in most things that he undertook, but his political foresight was keen above the average. Speaking of the attempt to colonize Virginia—unsuccessful in the hands of his own agents—he said, "I shall live to see it an English nation." And so it was. The vast region then called Virginia was divided in 1606 between two associations of adventurers. The London Company took the southern portion, and in 1607 planted a colony which, after many struggles, became the nucleus of the modern State of Virginia. The Plymouth Company did nothing to develop their less attractive allotment; but in 1620 a band of religious exiles, known as "the Pilgrim Fathers," sailing from England in the *Mayflower*, settled on the Company's territory, and thereafter named their settlement "Plymouth." These "Pilgrim Fathers" were Puritans who, despairing of any further reformation of the Church of England, "separated" from it (§ 129). Finding themselves persecuted by the English Government for their seditious breach of the uniformity laws, they migrated from their home at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, first to Leyden, with their pastor John Robinson, and then to America. Like the Israelites of old, they went forth in the wilderness to worship the Lord their God more freely. James himself took more interest in his plantation of Ulster than in these distant colonies in Virginia and "New England."

§ 148. **The Bohemian War, 1618-1621.**—Spanish jealousy of English enterprise in America was strong enough to bring Raleigh the pioneer to the block, but not to stop the rise of English colonies. More effective was the action of Spain with respect to the attitude of James to his German son-in-law. Frederick's acceptance of the

semi-elective crown of Bohemia in 1618 roused the opposition of its previous holders, the Hapsburgs, and was the signal for the long-threatened renewal of hostilities between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics of Germany (§ 97). There were many motives at work besides religion, but the bulk of Englishmen regarded the conflict as a purely religious war, in which it was the bounden duty of England to help the champion of Protestantism. James, however, who was better informed, regarded Frederick's action as aggressive and as violating the principle of the hereditary right of kings. He therefore declined to help him to retain Bohemia, whence Frederick was expelled in 1620, but he sent some help—not enough—to enable him to keep his hereditary domains. Meanwhile he renewed negotiations for a marriage with the Spanish Hapsburgs, hoping, by a joint mediation, to put a stop to the war in Germany. Finally, early in 1621, he summoned Parliament, after a seven years' interval, to equip him with means to take stronger measures if necessary.

§ 149 James I's Third Parliament, 1621—This third Parliament was at once ready to help the King in Germany and to effect reforms at home. In its first session the House of Commons revived the practice of impeachment, unused for 150 years, and by that means punished Sir Giles Mompesson for abusing a monopoly, and Lord Chancellor Bacon for accepting gifts from suitors in his court. In its second session the House proved more liberal with its advice than with its money. James thought the Commons had no business to meddle in foreign policy, which he told them was "beyond their reach or capacity", and he was answered in December 1621 by a firm *Protestation*, which James himself tore out of the Commons' *Journals* (cf §§ 109, 144):—

- (i) "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England,
- (ii) "And that the aduious and urgent affairs concerning the King, State, and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in Parliament ;
- (iii) "And that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the Houses of Parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion, the same," etc.

§ 150. Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623.—James dissolved Parliament in anger, and returned to his policy of negotiation. In 1622 his son-in-law Frederick was driven from all his dominions—largely by means of Spanish troops in the service of the Hapsburg Emperor—none the less, James hoped to secure his restoration by the aid of Spain. In 1623 Prince Charles, in company with Buckingham, went to Madrid to press his suit for the Infanta in person. The terms demanded included the complete toleration of Roman Catholics in England, and in return Spain would offer nothing—not even to use her good offices with the Emperor on behalf of the ejected Elector Palatine. The Prince and the Duke returned in hot anger, and by March 1624 England had drifted into war with Spain. The only active measure of the war attempted in James I.'s reign was Count Mansfeld's abortive expedition up the Rhine to recover the Palatinate early in 1625.

§ 151 James I.'s Fourth Parliament and Death, 1624-5.—The war with Spain was so popular that James had no difficulty in extracting a grant of £300,000—the largest grant of the reign—from his fourth Parliament, which met in February 1624. Parliament took precautions that its money should be spent wholly on the war, and part of it went to equip Mansfeld's expedition. It also successfully impeached Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, for malpractices as Lord Treasurer; but when Prince Charles and Buckingham encouraged this attack James warned them that they "would soon have their bellyful of impeachments." The many complaints against the abuses of Monopolies came to a head in an Act declaring illegal all grants of monopoly to *individuals*, except tavern-licences, and "the true and first inventors of new manufactures." It is from the letters-patent ("open-letters") granting monopolies in such cases that we derive our modern use of the noun *patent*. Parliament came to a close, after a three months' session, without quarrelling with the King. In August 1624 James concluded a marriage-treaty with France, granting concessions to English Romanists which would certainly have raised a storm in Parliament, had it been still sitting. Before Charles could carry out the marriage-contract by marrying Louis XIII.'s sister, Henrietta Maria, James I. died. His over-confidence in his kingcraft had, says a contemporary, "made *Great Britain* of less account than *little England* had been under Elizabeth." It had also raised many constitutional questions which gave a life's trouble to his less pliant son.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLES I'S CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS, 1625-1642.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY—Second son of James I ; born at Dunfermline, November 19, 1600, succeeded to the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland, March 27, 1625, married Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII of France, May 1, 1625, crowned at Westminster, February 6, 1626, and at Edinburgh, June 18, 1633, executed at Whitehall, January 30, 1649, buried at Windsor. For his descendants and kinsmen, see Table, p xx.

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	TURKEY	ELSEWHERE
Urban VIII (1623)	Ferdinand II (1619)	Louis XIII (1610)	Philip IV (1621- 1665)	Murad IV (1623) Ibrahim (1640) Muham- mad IV (1648)	Christian IV, <i>Denmark and Norway</i> (1588-1648) Gustav Adolf, <i>Sweden</i> (1611-1632)
Innocent X (1644)	Ferdinand III (1637-1658)	Louis XIV (1643-1715)			

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

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| <p>(i) International: relations with—</p> <p>(1) France §§ 152, 153, 155, 158, 160, 161.</p> <p>(2) Spain §§ 152, 153, 155, 160</p> <p>(3) The Empire §§ 152, 155, 160.</p> <p>(4) Denmark § 155</p> <p>(5) United Provinces §§ 161, 163</p> <p>(ii) Constitutional:</p> <p>(b) <i>Non-English—</i></p> <p>(1) Scotland §§ 162, 164-168, 171</p> <p>(2) Ireland §§ 162, 171</p> <p>(3) Colonies §§ 161, 162</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional: (a) English—</p> <p>(1) Church §§ 158, 161-7, 172</p> <p>(2) Taxation §§ 153-159, 163, 170</p> <p>(3) Personal Freedom §§ 156, 157, 164, 170</p> <p>(4) Ministers §§ 153, 154, 158, 162, 163, 168, 169, 173</p> <p>(5) Powers of Parliament §§ 153, 157, 158, 168, 173, 175</p> <p>(6) Privileges of Parliament: §§ 154, 159, 174.</p> <p>(7) Parties §§ 153, 159, 172, 173</p> <p>(8) Convocation § 166.</p> |
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I. BUCKINGHAM AND THE FIRST THREE PARLIAMENTS, 1625-1629.

§ 152. Survey of Charles I's Reign.—Charles I. came to the throne at an unfortunate time and under unfortunate circum-

stances. There was still alive a strong feeling that England had not done all that she should have done for the Protestant cause in Germany, and that she had truckled to Spain: there was also a widespread dislike of the policy of relaxing the enforcement of the recusancy laws. The popularity which Charles and his friend Buckingham had gained in 1624 by abandoning their Spanish projects had been lost by the French marriage project and by the ill-success of the English operations up the Rhine and against Spain. Charles was therefore out of touch with a large number of his English subjects when he began his reign; and during the greater part of his life he was getting still further out of touch both with them and with his subjects in Scotland and Ireland. It was not till the very close of his reign that pity for his misfortunes tended to overcome dislike of his faults; and the violence of his opponents in the end, combined with the identification of his cause with that of the Church of England, has caused many Anglicans to regard him as a martyr. From the point of view of international policy his reign falls into two divisions—a short period of active and warlike intervention on the Continent (1625–1630), and a long period of non-intervention. While the Thirty Years' War was convulsing and transforming Western Europe the British Isles were absorbed in the solution of their own insular problems. The main divisions of the reign from a constitutional point of view have been already indicated (§ 138).

§ 153. Charles's First Parliament.—In June 1625 Charles welcomed his wife Henrietta Maria of France—a marriage fraught with disaster to himself and to his House—and met his first Parliament. Among its more prominent members were Sir Edward Coke—formerly Chief Justice—Sir John Eliot of Cornwall, Sir Thomas Wentworth of Yorkshire, and John Pym of Somerset. These all belonged to old-established county families. In James I's parliaments the leaders had mostly been lawyers, but henceforth the country gentlemen, educated in politics and constitutional questions by contact with these lawyers, came more and more to the front. They had acquired knowledge of affairs, they had a "stake in the country"; they were for the most part respected by those whom they represented; and they had the support of the only other wealthy class in the land—the merchants of the towns. They had learnt that the best means of inducing the King to do what they wanted, and to refrain from doing what they did not want, was to keep him dependent upon themselves for money. In 1625 they

wanted to get rid of Buckingham and toleration of Roman Catholics. Accordingly, in the first Parliament, the Commons, instead of making the usual life-grant of Tunnage and Poundage, proposed to grant it for one year only. The Lords resisted this innovation; and in August Charles dissolved Parliament without obtaining even this modified grant. In order to raise money for the war against Spain he levied all the old customs-dues in the same way as his father had levied the extra-dues called impositions—by Prerogative. At Buckingham's suggestion, Charles spent part of the money thus obtained in equipping an expedition which Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, led against Cadiz in October. But the long peace had thrown the English Navy into a confusion, out of which even Buckingham's energy could not raise it in a moment; and Cecil's enterprise was an utter failure.

§ 154. Charles's Second Parliament, February-June, 1626.

—Charles was compelled to summon a second Parliament which he tried to make amenable to his wishes by keeping possible opponents out of the way (cf. § 146). He sent no summons to John Digby, Earl of Bristol, lest he should make disclosures concerning foreign negotiations in which he had been employed. He rendered Coke, Wentworth, and others ineligible as members of the House of Commons by appointing them to be sheriffs in their several counties. But the Commons found other leaders, and the Lords declined to transact business until Bristol received his writ of summons. When Parliament got to work it insisted on discussing grievances before furnishing money: in technical language, it took "Redress" before "Supply." The Commons impeached Buckingham; and when the King found that even the imprisonment of their leader, Eliot, failed to stop the prosecution of his friend, he dissolved the Parliament. "The House of Commons," he said, "was for *counsel*, not for *control*."

§ 155. Charles I.'s Foreign Policy, 1625-1627.—The twenty-one months' interval between the second and the third parliaments was occupied with increased foreign activity, and with the increased demand for money which that activity involved. Charles, both as a keen family man and as a Protestant by conviction, was eager for the restoration of his dispossessed brother-in-law; and he hoped to reach his object by family means. He promised subsidies to his uncle, Christian IV. of Denmark, to invade Germany on behalf of the Elector Palatine; but he could not find the money to pay the subsidies. His marriage was designed to secure the active aid of France against the rival family alliance of the Hapsburgs;

but circumstances frustrated this design. To conciliate the Protestant feelings of Parliament, Charles did not fulfil his marriage-obligation to relax the enforcement of the recusancy laws; and when the Huguenots broke into a purely political rebellion, Charles sent them help. As a result of this state of things France, now under the strong guidance of Cardinal Richelieu, made peace with Spain and drifted into war with England. In the summer of 1627 Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral, made an expensive and unsuccessful attempt to relieve the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle by occupying the island of Ré.

§ 156. **Arbitrary Taxation and Imprisonment, 1627.**—The combined war with Spain and France proved a severe strain on the resources of the Government. There was no danger of invasion as in Elizabeth's days: it was a war of aggression which could win the pecuniary support of Englishmen only if justified by success. To raise money, Charles in 1627 gathered "loans" the amount of which was fixed on the same basis of assessment as parliamentary subsidies; and to raise forces the maritime towns were ordered to furnish ships for the relief of La Rochelle. Those who declined to "lend" the Government the sums at which they were assessed were punished in various ways. some were pressed into service as soldiers or sailors; some were compelled to board the troops "billeted" upon them; and those who resisted these indirect modes of taxation were subjected to the summary jurisdiction known as martial law, or were cast into prison during the King's pleasure. A group of knights thus imprisoned sued out writs of *habeas corpus*, i. e. each obtained from the Court of King's Bench an order that his jailer should "produce his body" before the Court in order that the legality of his detention should be examined. The judges decided in these test cases—known as *The Five Knights' Case*, or as *Darnel's Case*—that "the King's special command" was sufficient to justify both the original arrest and the continued detention of the five knights. It was the King's duty to preserve public order, and the judges in 1627, as in 1606 (*Bate's Case*), declined to risk dismissal by declaring that the reigning king's unusual method of performing his duty was illegal.

§ 157. **First Session of Charles's Third Parliament, 1628.**—The conduct of the Government and the attitude of the judges deepened the growing conviction that something must be done to limit the power of the Crown to interfere with the liberty of the subject in respect of person and property. This feeling was voiced in the third Parliament by Eliot, Coke, Wentworth, and Pym, and

found formal expression in the notable constitutional document known as the *Petition of Right*. This document, in somewhat vague and general terms, branded various recent practices of the Government as illegal.—

- (i) The levying of "any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such-like charge without common consent by Act of Parliament."
- (ii) The imprisonment of any freeman "without cause showed."
- (iii) The billeting of soldiers or mariners in private houses.*
- (iv) The execution of martial law "within the land" in times of peace.

§ 158. **Death of Buckingham, 1628.**—Charles, after some hesitation, agreed to the *Petition of Right* in the belief that it made no alteration in the existing law, and was rewarded by a grant of £350,000. He then prorogued Parliament, and spent his money on a third expedition—a second had sailed during the session—to relieve La Rochelle. Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth in August while superintending the preparations; and the expedition was unable to prevent the surrender of the beleaguered Huguenots in October. Buckingham had been called by Eliot "the grievance of grievances"; and his death might well have lessened the friction between King and Parliament. But the failure of the war-policy, Charles's insistence on his right to Tunnage and Poundage (which the Commons, somewhat disingenuously, held to fall within the terms of the *Petition of Right*), and his ecclesiastical policy, still kept the sore open. During the recess, Charles promoted William Laud, the chief of the "Arminian" clergy, to the bishopric of London, and laid down unpopular theories of church-government in the Declaration which is still prefixed to the *Thirty-Nine Articles* in the *Anglican Book of Common Prayer*.

§ 159. **Second Session of Charles's Third Parliament.**—When Parliament reassembled in January 1629 it took up its financial and ecclesiastical grievances with great warmth. When, on March 2, Eliot was about to propose resolutions branding as "enemies to the kingdom and commonwealth" all who should introduce innovations in religion, or pay customs-duties unauthorized by Parliament, the Speaker intervened on the ground that the King had ordered an immediate adjournment. The resolutions were, however, informally put by Holles, while he and Valentine held the Speaker in the chair, and they were carried by tumultuous acclamation. The House then broke up; a few days later Charles dissolved Parliament and imprisoned the leaders in the recent riot. The Court of King's Bench held that the violent action of these members

was not covered by privilege. Eliot died in the Tower in 1632 : Valentine and Strode remained in durance until the assembling of Charles's fourth Parliament eleven years later

II. ELEVEN YEARS' PERSONAL RULE, 1629-1640

§ 160 **Peace with France and Spain, 1629-30.**—Charles I. had pursued political objects and used political methods which seemed to him Elizabethan, and had naturally expected to receive parliamentary support, such as Elizabeth had received. He had been grievously disappointed, and resolved to do without parliaments altogether. In order to avoid the necessity of calling Parliament he must needs economize, and the most obvious way of economizing was to drop his war-policy. Accordingly, in April 1629, he made peace with France by the *Treaty of Susa*; and in November 1630 the *Treaty of Madrid* ended the war between England and Spain. The latter treaty merely brought an ineffective war to a formal close: the former helped Charles out of one of his constitutional embarrassments at home. Each party gave up his protection of the other's religious non-conformists. Charles, in return for abandoning the cause of the French Huguenots, was released from his marriage-pledge to grant toleration to the English Roman Catholics.

§ 161. **The Growth of New England, 1629-1640.**—Three months after the Anglo-French treaty was signed, the brothers Kirke, acting on behalf of "the London Company of Merchant Adventurers," captured the French colony-town of Quebec. But by the *Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye*, March 1632, Charles both restored Canada, and also abandoned his claim to that region at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence which bears the traces of rival attempts by both French and Scotsmen to settle it in its names of "Acadie" and "Nova Scotia." This British withdrawal—temporary as it afterwards proved—from the St. Lawrence Valley was contemporaneous with colonial extension further south and elsewhere. In 1629 was started the colony of Massachusetts, which afterwards absorbed the Plymouth colony, and during the period of Personal Government many Puritans emigrated to New England. Their main object was to escape Laud's ecclesiastical discipline and to establish a theocracy more to their liking. The rigidity of their church-government—admirably depicted in Hawthorne's classic romance, *The Scarlet Letter*—caused many of their number to seek greater liberty in the settlement founded by Roger Williams at Providence, and now known as Rhode Island. Further south, beyond

the Dutch colonies on the Hudson, Lord Baltimore founded in 1633 the colony of Maryland, whose capital bears his name, and which was intended as a refuge for English Roman Catholics. The rapid growth in the prosperity of all these English colonies in America is illustrated by the fact that, during the Personal Government, a printer's press and the school which has grown into Harvard University were established at Cambridge in Massachusetts. Elsewhere, too, beyond the seas the foundations of the Empire were being extended. In 1631 the first permanent English settlement was made on the Gambia River in West Africa; in 1639 the East India Company acquired its first territorial possession, as distinguished from a mere factory or fortified warehouse, in India—at Fort St. George, Madras. But in the East Indies the English were still out-distanced by the Dutch.

§ 162. **Ireland, 1603-1640**—The importance of the colonies and other outlying dominions of Charles was recognized during the Personal Government by the creation of special committees of the Privy Council to superintend the affairs of Ireland (1634), of New England (1635), and of Scotland (1635). Ireland, in particular, received an unusually long spell of careful administration. From 1633 to 1640 it was governed by Viscount Wentworth, at first as Lord-Deputy, and in 1639 as Lord-Lieutenant. Wentworth had parted company with the aggressive parliamentary opposition to Charles in the interval between the first and second sessions of the Third Parliament (1628-9). His opposition had been directed rather against Buckingham than against Charles, and, like several of his colleagues, he thought that the House of Commons was exceeding both its constitutional functions and its political capacity in essaying the task of government. He therefore accepted office and a peerage from the King, and, after a few years' trial as President of the Council of the North, was transferred to Ireland. Since the completion of its first conquest in 1603, that country had been disturbed by various projects of confiscation and plantation. James I. had in 1611 successfully planted Ulster with Protestant settlers from England and Scotland. But the rumours of fresh schemes of plantation naturally caused a sense of insecurity in the minds of the existing inhabitants—both native Irish and Anglo-Irish. Wentworth put an end to their insecurity by settling the outstanding question of land-titles in Connaught and elsewhere. He also endeavoured to increase the prosperity of the island by suppressing piracy and encouraging the linen-trade. In accordance with

his friend Laud's ideas of ecclesiastical uniformity, he caused the established Church of Ireland to adopt the Anglican *Prayer-Book* and *Articles of Religion*. Finally, with a view to possible contingencies in the larger island, he equipped a small standing army and for the first time raised the revenue of the kingdom to a higher level than its expenditure. Wentworth adopted Laud's expressive name of "Thorough" to describe his system of autocratic government; and he hoped to see his system extended to the two kingdoms in Britain—"to vindicate monarchy for ever from the conditions and restraints of subjects."

§ 163. **Financial Expedients in England, 1629-1638.**—In England, where Charles had no minister of Wentworth's ability, the main activity of the Personal Government was devoted to the raising of funds and to the organization of the Church. Richard Weston, who became Earl of Portland in 1633, was in charge of the finances of the kingdom from 1628 to 1635 as Lord Treasurer. William Laud, who had long been Charles's chief adviser in Church affairs, obtained greater power for the execution of his designs when he became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. The increasing prosperity of the country—which helped to swell the King's revenue from the customs-dues—coupled with his abstention from war, would have made Weston's task comparatively easy but for the extravagance of the Court. Hence new sources of income had to be found. Gentlemen having the requisite property qualifications were fined if they neglected to take up knighthood, the landed proprietors who had encroached on the royal forests were fined, so, too, was the City of London for non-fulfilment of the conditions on which it held its estates in Ulster. These fines were usually, though not always, enforced by the Star Chamber. In 1634, towards the close of Weston's life, Noy, Attorney-General, suggested the more famous expedient of Ship-Money. For the suppression of pirates and to guard against the growing power of the French and of the Dutch, the maritime towns and counties were called upon to provide ships. This was in accordance with old precedents (cf. § 156); but after Noy's death, fresh writs were issued, not only to the maritime, but also to the inland districts—demanding not ships but a money equivalent. The judges gave an opinion in 1637 that the issue of these Ship-Money writs was a legal exercise of the King's power to provide for the safety of the country in time of danger (cf. § 144); and when John Hampden, a Buckingham esquire, declined to pay the sum at which he was assessed, the entire bench

of judges, by a majority of seven to five, re-affirmed the legality of the action of the Crown. The taxative burden was not serious in itself; but the taxative powers declared by the judges to be at the disposal of the Crown were capable of almost infinite expansion.

§ 164. **Laud's Ecclesiastical Policy.**—Laud, like his friend Wentworth, had little respect for the interests or opinions of individuals, and great belief in the necessity of obedience to lawful authority. In particular, he believed in the authority of the Church as governed by the bishops under the Supremacy of the King, and he held that all the King's subjects were bound to show at least outward obedience to the Church, whatever their personal feelings or opinions might be. So far he was in accordance with nearly all the religious thought of his day, but in his interpretation of the ambiguous formularies of the Anglican Church he differed from the Puritan majority in emphasizing its mediæval aspects and survivals. They insisted on the preservation of a Scriptural (meaning Calvinistic) theology and on a preaching ministry: Laud dwelt rather on the necessity of a uniform and stately ritual as the best safeguard of ecclesiastical unity. Laud's emphasis of the priestly power of the clergy, coupled with his friendly attitude towards Rome and discouragement of Continental Protestants, struck the bulk of his generation as mere "Popery," and caused a strong feeling to arise against the episcopalian form of church-government. But in England at least he was able, by means of the High Commission Court, to keep the clergy in awe, and, by means of the Star Chamber, to punish his lay opponents. In 1637, for instance, William Prynne, a barrister, Henry Burton, a clergyman, and John Bastwick, a physician, were fined, mutilated, and sent to prison for libelling the bishops. The mob applauded them as they stood in the pillory, but could do nothing to help them.

§ 165. **The Scots Resistance and the First Bishops' War, 1637-1639.**—In Scotland, Laud's ecclesiastical policy was not only unpopular but successfully resisted. There, in 1636, Charles completed his father's gradual restoration of full authority to the titular bishops, and in 1637 he ordered the use of a liturgy drawn up by Laud on the Anglican model. The first attempt, in July 1637, to read the new service in S. Giles's, Edinburgh, roused a storm of indignation against bishops and English interference. In February 1638 a second *National Covenant* against "Popery" was drawn up, which Scotsmen of all classes signed with such zeal and in such numbers that Charles prudently withdrew the service-book. In

November the General Assembly of the Scots Kirk, to guard against danger in future, abolished the episcopate and set up a purely presbyterian government, and when Charles declined to confirm these changes both sides prepared for war. The Scots army, under Alexander Leslie—fresh from his experience in the Thirty Years' War—was far superior in discipline to the force which Charles could gather, and in June 1639 he agreed to the *Pacification of Berwick*, whereby all ecclesiastical and civil questions were referred to the Scottish Assembly and Estates respectively.

§ 166. **The Short Parliament, April-May 1640.**—The demands made by the Scots assemblies were so great that Charles yielded to the advice of Laud and Wentworth (now Earl of Strafford) to appeal to the generosity and Scottish antipathies of his English subjects. In April 1640 he met his fourth Parliament, and found it no more prepared than its predecessors to give money unless it had previously obtained redress of grievances. After a session of three weeks it was dismissed, and, by contrast with the parliament which speedily followed it, it soon won the name of "the Short Parliament." The clergy proved more compliant than the laity. Contrary to the usual custom, the Canterbury Convocation continued to sit after the concurrent Parliament was dissolved, and during the extra session the clergy made a liberal grant of money. This grant, which was denounced as illegal by the parliamentary Opposition of the day, illustrated the growth of a breach in sentiment between the clergy and the well-to-do middle classes.

§ 167. **The Second Bishops' War, 1640.**—Meanwhile the Scots Parliament had been placing the northern kingdom in a posture of defence; and in August its army crossed the Tweed to fight against "the Canterburian faction of Papists, Atheists, Arminians, and Prelates." By a skirmish at Newburn it forced its way across the Tyne, and occupied the four northern counties. Charles invited a Great Council of Peers to meet him at York; and the peers joined with the Londoners and the Scots in urging him to summon another Parliament. Lacking both efficient troops and money to pay them, Charles was compelled to take this advice, and also to open the negotiations known as the *Treaty of Ripon* with the victorious Scots.

III. BEGINNINGS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT, 1640-1642

§ 168. **Remedial Work of the Long Parliament, 1640.**—Charles had embarked upon large enterprises without properly estimating the cost; and the success of the Scots resistance had

forced him once more to face parliamentary opposition. His fifth Parliament, which met at Westminster on November 3, 1640, was very different in feeling from its predecessor. The events of the summer had proved the King's helplessness; the interest displayed in the General Election had shown that Parliament had the nation solid at its back; and it had the moral support of the Scots army. The Parliament could, and the King could not, venture to be bold and resolute. Hence during its first and unanimous session (November 3, 1640–September 9, 1641), it was able to make a series of sweeping changes which may be generally classified under the heads of remedial and preventive. The remedial measures undid many of the recent acts of the Government, or punished their doers, or attempted reparation to the injured: the preventive measures sought to make similar acts impossible in the future. For instance, Parliament released Prynne and other victims of the Star Chamber from their prisons and gave them compensation for their ill-treatment, it reversed the sentence against Hampden in the *Ship-Money Case*; and it dismissed the judges who had decided against him. Before the end of the year the Commons committed Strafford and Laud to prison, and subsidized the Scots army to remain in England until the work of reform should be accomplished.

§ 169. **Impeachment, Attainder, and Execution of Strafford, 1641.**—Strafford was formally impeached by the Commons on the charge of high treason; and the trial before the Lords began at the end of March 1641. The principal evidence of his treason offered was his alleged advice to Charles to use the Irish army against "this kingdom." But treason, as defined by law, meant disloyalty to the person of the King (of which Strafford had obviously not been guilty), and it could not be decently stretched so far as to cover a mere difference of opinion with the Commons on the proper office of the King. Seeing no chance of securing a conviction from the Lords, the Commons, under Pym's guidance, dropped the impeachment and brought in a Bill of Attainder. In other words, having failed to prove Strafford guilty of the breach of any existing law, they condemned him to death for doing and saying things of which they happened to disapprove. The Commons passed the attainder by four to one, the Lords by three to two, and finally Charles—who had sworn that "not a hair of his head should be injured"—yielded to his wife's entreaties and to the London mob by giving his consent to the Bill. Strafford's execution (May 12) removed Charles's ablest statesman, and encouraged the Opposition.

§ 170. Preventive Work of the Long Parliament, 1641.—Before Strafford's death Parliament had begun its preventive or constructive work, which consisted partly in increasing the stability of Parliament, partly in lessening the powers of the King. In February it passed the *First Triennial Act*, which provided that the interval between two parliaments should not exceed three years. Two days before Strafford's death Charles gave his assent to a Bill whereby the parliament then in session could not be legally dissolved without its own consent (§ 210). The Long Parliament had in these two Acts legal security for the regular and continued existence of parliament as an institution, as it already had military security for its own existence in the subsidy-arrangement with the Scots. Thus safe both from domination and from dissolution, it passed in July a series of Acts which fundamentally changed the Tudor constitution of the country. One set of Acts abolished both the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, and the Councils of the North and of Wales, and definitely declared illegal the powers of arbitrary imprisonment and summary jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the Privy Council. Another set of Acts declared illegal the various financial expedients of the Personal Government—Distrainment of Knighthood, Ship-Money, etc.—and also the older expedient of levying customs-dues by Prerogative (§§ 144, 153). The session was ended by the grant of liberal supplies to the King for a brief period, by the payment of the promised subsidy to the Scottish army, and by the disbanding of the English army.

§ 171. The Incident and the Ulster Insurrection, September–October 1641 —During the English parliamentary recess Charles paid a visit to Scotland, hoping to win back his popularity there by giving his assent to the ecclesiastical reforms of the Scots Assembly and by scattering peerages among his late opponents. But a mysterious attempt—known as “the Incident”—to kidnap Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, the head of the Covenanters, kept alive the Scottish suspicion of Charles, and he returned to England no stronger than before. Meanwhile the removal of the iron hand of Strafford and the confusion prevalent in Britain had encouraged the Irish malcontents to strike a blow against the English domination which had destroyed their independence, proscribed their religion, and confiscated their property (§ 162). On October 23, 1641—three days after the re-assembling of the Long Parliament—a rising broke out among the native Irish of Ulster which de-

veloped into an extensive massacre of the Protestant settlers. As Strafford's army had been disbanded, it became necessary to raise troops for the suppression of this disorder; and a question arose whether Charles—who was quaintly suspected of being a "Papist"—was to be trusted with an army for service against the Irish Romanists. The Irish rising and the royal journey to Scotland were widely regarded in England as subtle devices on the part of Charles to gather forces to be used against the aggressive English Parliament.

§ 172. Parliamentary Split about Ecclesiastical Reform, 1641.—The civil reforms effected in the first session of the Long Parliament had been achieved by the consent of all parties, and proved to be permanent (§ 213). The chief questions facing Parliament on its reassembling in October were these —(1) had enough been done to secure the permanence of the reforms already gained? (2) ought not the Church to be regulated, as the State had already been regulated, by parliamentary law? Something had been done to secure the liberty of the individual as regards his *person* and his *pocket*: ought not something also to be done for freedom of *conscience*? Or rather—for the religious freedom of the individual was a notion which had hardly yet won its way to the front in England, as it had in New England—ought not the opinion of the majority to be allowed to influence the government of the Church as it already had influenced the government of the State? It was on this question of ecclesiastical reform, coupled with the question whether Charles was to be trusted to recognize in practice the limitations on his Prerogative to which he had given his formal consent, that the Parliament split into two parties and ceased to present a united front to the King. In the first session the Commons had authorized the defacement of "superstitious" altars and images in the churches, and had entertained proposals for the partial or entire abolition of the bishops. In the second session the "Root and Branch" party—*i. e.* the party which wished to do away with episcopacy "root and branch"—was strongest; and its threats forced the conservative church-party to rally round Charles.

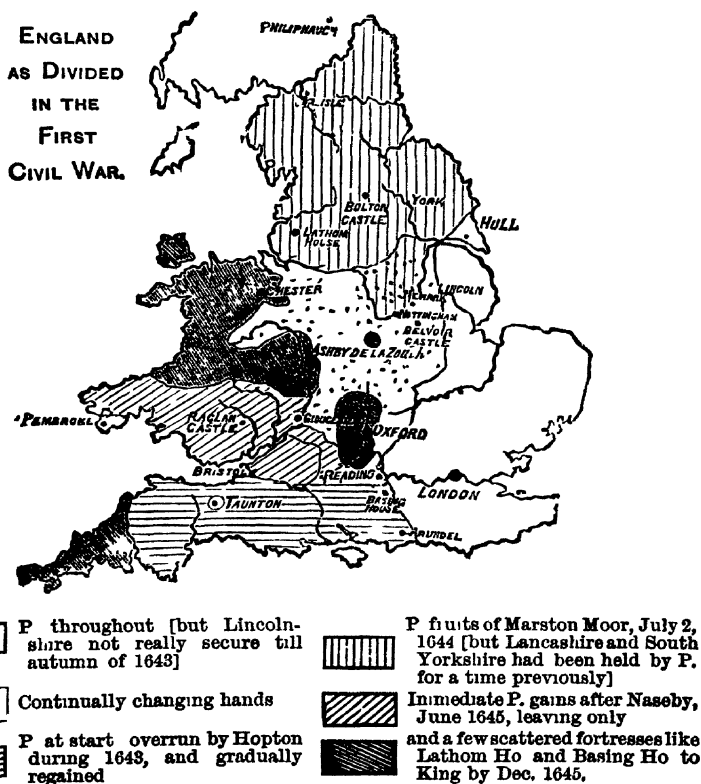
§ 173. The Grand Remonstrance, November 1641.—The visible disintegration of Parliament alarmed Pym, Hampden, and other leaders of the active Opposition. In the hopes of discrediting Charles by a hostile review of his public acts, of drawing the separating parties together again, and of winning the support of the general public outside, they drew up a *Grand Remonstrance*

which received the approval of the Commons on November 22. This Remonstrance contained a long historical review of the events of the reign—intended to show that the King's conduct had been as foolish and unconstitutional as that of his Parliament had been the reverse—and a demand for remedies, especially the appointment of "ministers in whom the Parliament could confide." The Remonstrance was carried by a majority of only eleven votes in a large house; and the further proposal to print and publish the document, as an appeal to the nation at large, was carried by a still smaller majority. Outside the Houses, opinions were almost as evenly divided. Towards the end of December the partisans of the King began to mock the close-cropped Puritans who supported the Parliament by the name of *Roundheads*, and received in return the nickname of *Cavaliers*. The House of Lords generally, its episcopal members invariably, supported the King: hence the catchword of Londoners at the moment was—"No Bishops! No Popish Lords!"

§ 174. **The Arrest of the Five Members, January 1642.**—Encouraged by many signs of his own popularity, Charles resolved to strike a blow at the leaders of the Opposition. On January 3 his Attorney-General laid charges of treason before the House of Lords against Lord Kimbolton (Edward Montague, afterwards Earl of Manchester) and five members of the Commons—Pym, Hampden, Hazlerigg, Holles, and Strode. Their dealings with the Scots rebels were held to be treason; but the procedure was unusual, and the Lords declined to order the arrest of the accused. Next day, Charles—impelled by the taunts of his wife—went down to the House to effect their arrest in person: he found that "the birds were flown," and that the Commons would not help him to capture them. Charles's premature attack had lost him all the ground that he had won in the general good-will. On January 10 he left London—not to return until brought back as a prisoner seven years later; and in the following month the Queen went over to the Continent to gather arms and treasure for the war which now began to seem probable.

§ 175. **The Militia Bill and the Nineteen Propositions, February–June 1642.**—In February, Charles gave his assent to the *Clerical Disabilities Bill*, depriving the bishops of their seats in the House of Lords and of all their civil offices; but he declined to assent to the *Militia Bill*, depriving himself of the control of the army that was being raised for service in Ireland. The two Houses—now diminished by the secession of many members who clave to the King—took matters into their own hands, and ascribed the force

of law to their Bills under the name of *Ordinances*. They assumed the task of appointing the lords-lieutenants of counties, and thus acquired the control of the militia. they also secured the fleet. In April, Sir John Hotham, by command of Parliament, declined to admit the King into his arsenal at Kingston-on-Hull. In June, Charles refused to consent to the parliamentary ultimatum known as the *Nineteen Propositions*, designed to obtain for Parliament an effective control over all branches of the administration—military and naval, civil and ecclesiastical, judicial and international. In July, Parliament named the Earl of Essex, son of Elizabeth's favourite, to be Captain-General over all its forces; and on August 22, the King, having moved from York, gave the signal for civil war by setting up his royal standard at Nottingham



- Conspectus of the First Civil War.

NOTE.—R. = Royalist, P = Parliamentary, C = Covenanter; M = Montrose: when these initials are in dark type, it signifies that the side thereby denoted was victorious in the operation to which it is appended
An asterisk (*) denotes a drawn or doubtful battle
Dark type is used to distinguish the most important battles.

1642 — *Features* Indecisive Opening; Charles I.'s Occupation of Oxford, Direct Attack on London.

Aug. 22.—Raising of the Royal Standard at Nottingham.

Oct. 23.—**Edgehill ***: Essex P. v. Forth and Rupert R.

Nov. 12.—Skirmish at Brentford. Holles P. v. Rupert R.
Negotiations at Oxford.

1643.—*Charles's Plan of Campaign*: Newcastle's Army of the North to press down along east coast into Essex, and Hopton's Army of the West to press along south coast into Kent, as far as Thames mouth, then King to strike at London.

<i>North and East</i>	<i>Middlelands</i>	<i>South and West</i>
June 30 —Adwalton Moor Fairfaxes P v. Newcastle, R	June 18 —Chalgrove Field Hampden d	May 16 —Stratton. Stamford P v Hopton and Grenville, R.
July 28 —Gainsborough Cromwell P v Newcastle, R		July 5.—Lansdown: Waller P v. Hopton, R.
		„ 13 —Roundway Down: Waller P. v. Hopton, R.
Sept. 2—Oct. 12 — R Siege of Hull.	Aug 10—Sept 5 —R Siege of Gloucester	„ 26 —Bristol taken by Rupert, R
Oct. 11.—Winneby, Cromwell P. v R	Sept 20 —1st Newbury *: Essex v. King.	Aug —Oct —R. Siege of Plymouth.
		Dec 9—Jan 6.—Arun- del held by Hopton, R.

July 1.—WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY meets.

Sept. 15.—THE CESSATION. **Sept. 25.**—SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT. **Dec. 8.**—Death of Pym.

The First Civil War (*continued*)

1644 Jan. 19.—Scottish Army crosses Tweed. Feb 16.—Committee of Both Kingdoms replaces Committee of Safety.

Jan 22.—Apr 16.—The Oxford Parliament.

R. *Plan of Campaign*: Diversions in Scotland and Ireland: Support N. and S. Armies from Oxford as needed.

Jan 25 — Nantwich.

Fairfax **P** v Byron, R

March—July 16 — **P**
Siege of York

July 2 — Marston Moor.
Fairfax, Manchester,
P and Leven (C)
v. Rupert and New-
castle, R.

May—June — **P** Siege
of Oxford

June 29 — Cropredy
Bridge Waller **P**
v. Charles, **R**

March 29 — Cheriton

Waller **P** v Forth
and Hopton, R.

Sept 2 — Surrender of
Essex's Army at
Lostwithiel, **R**

Sept 1.—Montrose's first victory, over Elcho, at **Tipper-
muir**; over Balfour, Aberdeen, Sept. 13

Oct 19.—Town of Newcastle surrenders to Scots

Oct 27.—**2nd Newbury** * · Manchester **P** v Charles.

1645 — **P** SELF-DENYING ORDINANCES and the NEW MODEL
TREATY OF UXBRIDGE, Jan.—Feb

R *Plan of Campaign* · Keep up connexion with Scotland.

Scotland

Mullands

South-West

Feb 2 — Inverlochy

M v Argyll, C

May 9 — Auldearn **M**
v. Hurry, C.

July 2 — Alford. **M** v
Baillie, C

Aug 14 — **Kilsyth**: **M**
v Baillie, C.

June 14 — Naseby:
Fairfax and Crom-
well, **P** v Rupert
and King, R.

P Relief of Taunton
July 10 — Langport ·
Fairfax **P** v. Goring,
R.

Aug. 25.—GLAMORGAN'S TREATY WITH THE CONFEDERATE
CATHOLICS.

Sept. 13.—**Philip-
haugh**: M. v David
Leslie, C.

Sept 24 -- Rowton
Heath **P**.
Oct 13 — Basing
House. Cromwell, **P**

Sept 10.—**P**. Capture
of Bristol Fairfax
and Cromwell v.
Rupert

1646 — March 14, R Army of West surrenders to Fairfax,
P.; and March 21, Astley, R defeated at Stow-on-the-Wold.

Charles I. driven to Oxford Nov. 5, 1645, takes refuge
amongst the Scots near Newark **May 5**, 1646

Raglan Castle surrenders Aug. 19, 1646; Harlech Castle,
March 13, 1647.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR, 1642-1649.

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| A PERSONAL HISTORY
CONTEMPORARY RULERS | } | See previous chapter |
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C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

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| <p>(i) International' relations with—</p> <p>(1) France §§ 181</p> <p>(2) Palatinate § 177</p>
<p>(ii) Constitutional'—</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">(b) <i>Non-English—</i></p> <p>(1) Scotland §§ 181, 183, 184,
186, 188, 189-192</p> <p>(2) Ireland §§ 181, 182, 184, 188</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional: (a) English—</p> <p>(1) Church §§ 176, 183, 187, 188,
190, 191.</p> <p>(2) Army §§ 177, 180, 184, 187,
191</p> <p>(3) Parties §§ 176, 177, 187, 190,
191, 193, 194</p> <p>(4) Negotiations §§ 179, 187, 191,
193</p> <p>(5) Parliament v King §§ 178-
189</p> <p>(6) Parliament v Army §§ 191-
194</p> |
|--|---|

I THE FIRST CIVIL WAR, 1642-1646.

§ 176 **The Divisions of Classes and Localities**—The real cause of the civil war was not the constitutional and legal questions which took so prominent a place in the copious pamphlet literature of the time, but the mutual distrust of King and Parliament. Charles had good grounds for doubting whether there was likely to be any limit to the demands made upon him: Parliament had equally good grounds for suspecting that Charles would take the first opportunity to repudiate his recent concessions. For the most part, classes, districts, and interests which were conservative in feeling supported the King, while those who desired further changes threw in their lot with Parliament. Those who believed in Episcopacy—whether Anglicans or Roman Catholics—were Royalists; the strength of the Parliamentarians lay in Puritanism. There was no hard and fast geographical or social line dividing the rival parties. But on the whole the backward portion of the land—the North and the West—supported the King, while the wealthier and more progressive regions of the East and Midlands supported Parliament (Plan, p. 111). The peers were mainly Royalist, the towns and the yeomen were mainly Parliamentarian; the gentry were pretty evenly divided.

§ 177. Military Conditions of the Civil War.—At the beginning of the war the balance of military advantage lay with the King; and it is possible that a bold march on London might have ended the war before it was well begun. The bulk of Charles's followers were country-folk accustomed to riding and to roughing it in out-of-door work, while the bulk of the Parliamentarians belonged to the urban classes of more or less sedentary occupation. Owing to the long peace which had prevailed in England the partisans of both sides were badly in need of training; but the Royalists had the more promising raw material. Nearly all the officers who made their mark on either side—save the Royalist Montrose and the Puritan Cromwell—had seen service abroad as volunteers in the Thirty Years' War. On the King's side, these included his nephews Rupert and Maurice, the Earls of Lindsey and Forth, and Sir Jacob Astley; on the side of the Parliament, there were Essex, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and George Monk. But these experienced officers were unable to impart much training to their regiments, so long as the men took service for only a few months at a time and then returned to their ordinary business. The belief that the war would soon be over helped to prolong it, by postponing the serious attempts of either side to raise a regular army of trained troops. Ultimately Parliament won, because—while the Royalists remained mere *fighters*—the yeomen and apprentices were allowed time to be trained into *soldiers*.

§ 178. General Survey of the War, 1642-1646—The war thus caused and conditioned lasted through three full-year and two half-year campaigns. The first campaign, in 1642, was marked by great indecision, each side being inexperienced and being influenced by its peace advocates; the second campaign, in 1643, was rendered indecisive by the inability of each side to concentrate its forces; the third campaign, in 1644, saw the entrance of the Scots into the quarrel turn the balance in favour of the Parliament; the fourth campaign, in 1645, was marked by the decisive victory of the re-organized army of the Parliament at Naseby, and the fifth campaign, in 1646, consisted in the capture of the isolated strongholds and armies which still stood out for the King. Throughout, these campaigns in England were vitally affected by events in the sister kingdoms; and the defeat of Charles's forces failed to bring the constitutional problems perceptibly nearer to solution.

§ 179. First Campaign, 1642: Edgehill and Brentford.—At the outset Charles was hampered by lack of arms and money,

Parliament by the rawness of its troops and by a disinclination to risk unpopularity by imposing heavy taxation on its wealthy supporters. Parliament remained on the defensive, garrisoning a line of towns from Worcester to Northampton to bar the road to London. It was not till October that Charles began his advance. On October 23 he inflicted a repulse on Essex at Edgehill, in the south-east of Warwickshire, but Essex was none the less able to reach London first. Charles got as far as Brentford in the middle of November, and then deemed it prudent to retire for the winter to Oxford, which henceforth became his head-quarters. Essex took up his winter-quarters at Thame, some twelve miles east of Oxford. During the winter the abortive negotiations known as the *Treaty of Oxford* took place (February 1643).

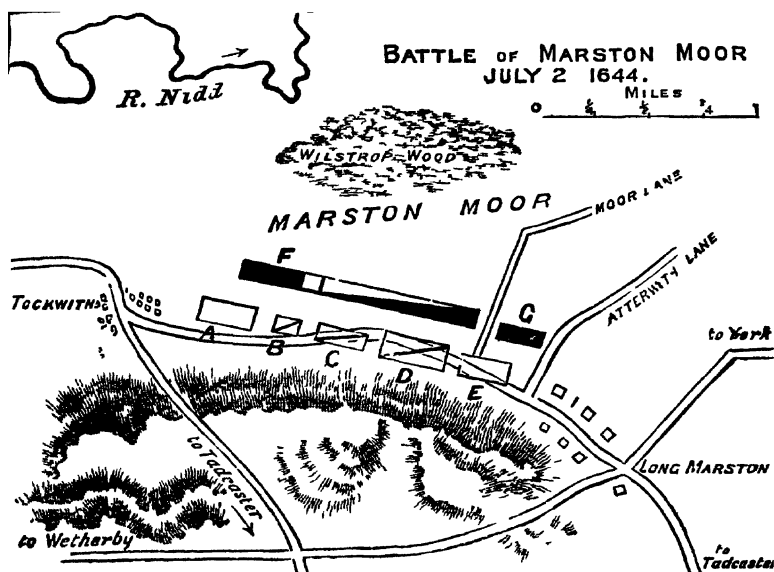
§ 180. **Second Campaign, 1643.**—The prospects of the Parliamentarians were gloomy, and the Londoners were so discouraged by the cost of the war that the poet Waller formed a plot in April 1643 to seize the City and admit the King. But meanwhile their loosely organized *county* levies were being replaced by better organized *provincial* armies, of which the chief was that of the Eastern Association under Manchester and Oliver Cromwell. In the early part of 1643 the forces of the Eastern Association not only stamped out Royalism in its own district, but obtained a firm hold on Lincolnshire. Elsewhere the Parliamentarians at first fared badly: on June 18, Hampden was mortally wounded in a skirmish with Rupert's troops at Chalgrove Field, near Oxford, on June 30 the Earl of Newcastle secured nearly the whole of Yorkshire for the Royalists by defeating the Fairfaxes at Adwalton Moor, near Bradford, and a series of Royalist successes—beginning with Hopton's victory at Stratton in Cornwall on May 16, and crowned by Rupert's capture of Bristol on July 26—deprived the Parliament of its hold on the South-West. The way seemed open for a combined march of the three principal Royalist armies on London. But, to conciliate local feeling, the advance was deferred until the fortified towns of Hull, Gloucester, and Plymouth should fall. The delay spoilt the scheme. Plymouth was relieved from the sea, Hull was relieved by Cromwell; Gloucester was relieved at the last moment by Essex on September 5. Essex secured his retreat to London after a fight with the King at Newbury in Berkshire on September 20.

§ 181. **The Solemn League and Covenant, 1643.**—Each of the English parties had managed to hold its own, but, to bring the war to an end, allies were required. France and the other Continental

Powers were still too busy with the Thirty Years' War to intervene : but the issue of the English civil war closely concerned the sister kingdoms. There could be little doubt that, if the King won, his hand would be heavy on the Scottish Covenanters, whose resistance had been the practical beginning of his troubles (§§ 165, 168). There could be as little doubt that the Parliament, if victorious, would show very little mercy to the Roman Catholic insurgents in Ireland. In September 1643 the recognition of these facts led the Irish insurgents to come to terms with Charles, and the Scottish Covenanters to make an alliance with the Parliament. The former agreement, known as the *Cessation*, was made on September 15. the latter agreement, known as the *Solemn League and Covenant*, was completed ten days later. These treaties cannot be understood without knowing the circumstances of the consenting parties.

§ 182. **State of Ireland, 1641-1643**—The Ulster Rising of 1641 both helped and was helped by the quarrel between King and Parliament in England. it spread over all Ireland, and was not finally suppressed until the contest in England was settled. The rising was begun by the native Irish in the hope of recovering their tribal lands and tribal customs, but in October 1642 they made common cause with the Hibernian lords who, like the native Irish, had reason to fear the triumph of the Puritan party. The allies called themselves the "Confederate Catholics", but the tie of their common religion was not always as strong as their old race antipathies. In the desultory war which followed, the Confederates had to face—sometimes separately, sometimes conjointly—three several sets of opponents, often at war with one another—(1) the King's forces under the Marquess of Ormonde, (2) the forces of the Parliament under various leaders, and (3) a Scots army under Monroe in the North. In this five-fold tangle it was natural that the parties which had, for the time being, common interests should form temporary accommodations with one another. Hence, the King strove to make terms with the Confederate Catholics. in September 1643, the *Cessation*, a truce for one year, set free part of Ormonde's troops for service in England, in August 1645, the *Treaty of Kilkenny*—commonly known by the name of Charles's agent as the *Glamorgan Treaty*—attempted to bring the war to a close by extensive civil and ecclesiastical concessions to the Irish. Neither treaty did Charles any military good. both did him great political harm—for they seemed to confirm the popular delusion that he was himself at heart a "Papist" (§§ 164, 171).

§ 183. **The State of Scotland, 1640-1643.**—The success of the Scots, especially the Lowland Scots, in resisting the attempt to impose Episcopacy upon them, encouraged them to hope that they might in turn impose Presbyterianism on the sister kingdoms. They had proved their ability to win their cause unaided in the Bishops' Wars; and when the English Parliament, unable to win its cause alone, asked their help, they were able to dictate their own terms. The *Solemn League and Covenant*—which, as the name



Parliamentarians, 24,000 A, Cromwell and Leslie, B, Crawford, C, Baillie, D, Lord Fairfax, E, Sir Thomas Fairfax
 Royalists, 22,000 Newcastle in centre, F, Rupert, G, Goring

implies, was partly a civil alliance, partly a religious contract—provided that, whereas the Scots Kirk was to be “preserved,” the English Church was to be “reformed.” The treaty was negotiated by Sir Harry Vane, the younger, under the direction of Pym—who died shortly afterwards; and it entrusted the management of the war to a “Committee of Both Kingdoms.”

§ 184. **Third Campaign, 1644:** (i) **Marston Moor.**—In January 1644, Ormonde's spare troops from Ireland, and a Scots army under Alexander Leslie, now Earl of Leven, entered England

as allies of the King and of the Parliament respectively. The Irish contingent was immediately crushed by the Fairfaxes at Nantwich (on January 25)· the Scottish aid permanently turned the balance in favour of the Parliament. The Scots were joined by the army of the Eastern Association, under Manchester and Cromwell, and by Fairfax's army; and the three armies closed round the hitherto victorious Marquess of Newcastle, and shut him up in York. Prince Rupert raised the siege, but late in the evening of July 2 he insisted on fighting a battle against slightly superior numbers on Marston Moor, a few miles west of the city. Cromwell's cavalry put Rupert's to flight, and saved Fairfax from defeat. Henceforth Cromwell's troopers were known as Ironsides.

§ 185. (1) **South England**—The battle of Marston Moor, which gave the whole of the North into the hands of the Anglo-Scottish host, was far more decisive and important than all the other battles of the year put together. Waller, after defeating Hopton at Cheriton in Hants (March 29), joined Essex in laying siege to Oxford. But the two commanders parted in anger, and were beaten separately by Charles in person. Waller, at Cropredy Bridge on the river Cherwell (June 29), Essex, at Lostwithiel, in Cornwall—where his entire force of infantry was compelled to surrender (September 2), though he himself escaped by sea. Having thus driven from the field the two Parliamentary armies of the South, Charles made a dash for London, but he was effectively stopped by the army of the Eastern Association at Newbury (October 27).

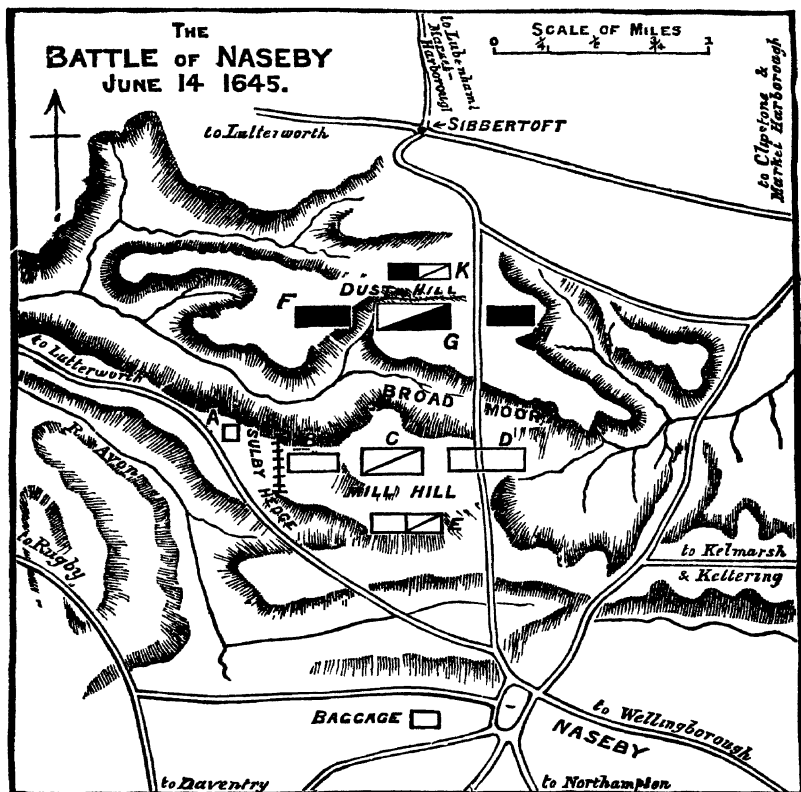
§ 186 **Montrose in Scotland, 1644-5**—The head of the Presbyterian Scots of the Lowlands was the Marquess of Argyll, chief of the powerful clan of Campbell. His alliance with the Parliament threw the many Highland clans which hated the Campbells into the arms of the King; and these clans found an able leader in James Graham, Marquess of Montrose. In the course of a twelvemonth, Montrose, with forces small in numbers, ill-equipped, and serving for very short periods, won a series of victories which seemed for a moment likely to turn the scale in favour of Charles. The series began with the battle of Tippermuir near Perth (September 1, 1644), it reached its climax in the battle at Kilsyth, near Glasgow (August 14, 1645), and it was effectually stopped by his overthrow at Philiphaugh in Selkirk, September 13, 1645.

§ 187. **Negotiation and Organization, 1645**—The military successes of Montrose encouraged Charles to refuse the hard terms proposed by Parliament in the *Treaty of Uxbridge*, January 1645:

he was required to take the Covenant, to agree to the abolition of Episcopacy, and to entrust the military and diplomatic business of the country to the Joint Committee for twenty years. Charles's adherence to Episcopacy was strengthened by the execution of his friend Laud in January—like Strafford, condemned for treason by Bill of Attainder—and by observing that his opponents were no longer agreed as to what form of church-government should be instituted. There was a small but strenuous and growing party rising up among the Parliamentarians which thought Presbyterianism as objectionable as Episcopacy, and which was resolved to obtain peace by the energetic prosecution of the war, and to secure the continuance of peace by granting a large measure of religious toleration. Cromwell, the chief leader of these "Independents," roundly accused the principal generals, Essex, Manchester, and Waller—who belonged to the Presbyterian party—of trifling with the war in the interest of the King, and demanded a complete reorganization of the forces of Parliament. Early in 1645 this demand was met by two Ordinances: one replaced the fluctuating local levies by a regular standing army of 21,000 strong; and the other, called the *Self-Denying Ordinance*, deprived members of either House of military commands. Sir Thomas, now Lord Fairfax, became Lord General, and Cromwell was placed over the cavalry in this freshly organized or 'New Model' army. he was one of the few deprived officers who were reappointed.

§ 188 Fourth Campaign, 1645—The success of Montrose decided the course of the campaign of 1645: the New Model decided its result. Leven's Scots army, instead of co-operating with the English armies, turned north to be ready to face Montrose, if necessary; Charles delayed leaving Oxford to join Montrose until the slow organization of the New Model had been completed, and was in consequence defeated by Fairfax and Cromwell at Naseby, near Market Harborough on June 14; and Montrose, marching south to join his master, was overthrown at Philiphaugh by a detachment of Leven's troops under David Leslie. The battles of Naseby and Philiphaugh practically destroyed the King's military power. At the same time the capture of Charles's papers—which proved his intrigues with the Irish "rebels" and with the Roman Catholic Powers of the Continent, and which were at once published under the title of *The King's Cabinet Opened*—did him as much harm by discrediting him politically. Henceforth his only hope of success lay in taking advantage of the dissensions among his

victors. Philipphangh had been won by the Scots for Presbyterianism : Naseby had been won by Cromwell for Independency. The religious toleration advocated by Cromwell's party seemed to the Presbyterian "a grand design of the Devil."



Parliament, 14,500 A, Okey, B, Ileton, C, Skippon, D, Cromwell, E, Fairfax
King, 7,500 F, Rupert, G, Astley, H, Langdale, K, King.

§ 189. Fifth Campaign, 1646. There still remained a few bodies of troops and a few isolated fortresses holding out for Charles. But after Hopton's surrender to Fairfax at Truro, and Sir Jacob Astley's defeat at Stow-on-the-Wold in March 1646, Charles had no army in the field. On May 5 he took refuge in the Scots camp at Newark; and early in the following month he issued orders that all

places flying his flag should surrender. Though Harlech Castle held out till March 1647, the First Civil War may be regarded as practically ended by Charles I.'s flight from Oxford to Newark.

II KING, PARLIAMENT, AND ARMY, 1646-1649

§ 190 The Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643-1647—The question of ecclesiastical reform—or, as it was then called, “the public profession of religion”—had caused the split among the Parliamentarians which encouraged Charles to appeal to arms; and it still continued as a dividing influence, of which Charles, worsted in his appeal to arms, confidently expected to be able to take advantage. But the question had changed in form during the civil war as an alternative to one or other of the rigid and uniform church-systems proposed in 1641—Episcopacy or Presbyterianism—there had risen an effective demand for the flexible and diverse church-system known as Congregationalism or Independency. The Long Parliament had formally abolished the bishops in September 1642, and entrusted “the further and more perfect reformation of the Church” to a body of experts in the following summer. This Westminster Assembly sat from July 1643 to August 1647 it consisted of both divines and laymen, drawn from all the leading religious parties except Roman Catholics—who were at that time hardly regarded as Christians by the average Englishman of the day. The small number of Episcopalians withdrew at an early stage, and though there were present “Erasians,” whose main idea was to secure the supremacy of Parliament over the Church, and Independents, whose main idea was to secure a tolerant church, the preponderating party was throughout—especially after the Anglo-Scottish alliance of 1643 (§ 183)—pledged to some kind of Presbyterianism. It drew up a *Directory of Public Worship* to supersede the *Book of Common Prayer*; and it also framed the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, the *Longer Catechism* and the *Shorter Catechism*—theological documents which still form the basis of British Presbyterianism. It also planned a system of Presbyterian church-government for England; but political power passed from the hands of the Presbyterian party before its reconstitution of the Church of England could be accomplished.

§ 191. Quarrel between Parliament and Army, 1647.—In January 1647 the Scots received the pay due to them under the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and returned to their own country, leaving the King in the hands of the English Parliament. The

dominant party in Parliament was proposing to restore Charles to his full authority in return for his assent to the establishment of Presbyterianism. To make the negotiations easier and safer, Parliament in March passed certain ordinances reducing the Army, and striking off five-sixths of its arrears of pay. The Army objected, and, under the guidance of Fairfax and Ireton, who were ultimately joined by Cromwell, organized itself into a kind of constitutional body under a Council of Officers and a Council of Agitators—the latter consisting of two agents or agitators elected by each regiment. Thus organized, the Army seized the King at Holmby House near Naseby in June, marched on London, and ejected eleven of the Presbyterian leaders from the House of Commons. In August the Army put forth a document called *Heads of Proposals*, containing the conditions upon which they were willing to restore the King: among the more notable conditions were parliamentary and judicial reforms, and toleration to all religious parties except Roman Catholics. The terms offered by the Army were much more liberal and easy than those offered by the Parliament, but Charles, persuaded that he could ultimately win back his power without conditions, declined to accept. On November 11, he escaped from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, and there continued his intrigues with the English Presbyterians, the Scots, and the Royalists of all three kingdoms. At Carisbrooke Castle, on December 26, he made a secret *Engagement* with the Scots whereby, in return for a three years' trial of Presbyterianism and repression of the Independents, they promised to restore him to the monarchical power as defined in 1641.

§ 192 **Second Civil War, March–August, 1648**—The failure of the authorities to make any settlement, coupled with Charles's intrigues, kindled a fresh civil war, in which many who had previously taken part against the King, now acted on his side. London was kept down only by main force; and the fleet in the Downs, hitherto Parliamentarian, hoisted the royal standard and passed under the command of Prince Rupert. In the spring of 1648 Royalist risings broke out all over South Britain; in July a Scottish army under the Duke of Hamilton crossed the Border to their assistance. Fairfax crushed the southern risings by storming Maidstone (June 1), and by forcing Colchester to surrender (August 28). Cromwell, having taken Pembroke on July 11, pushed northwards, and defeated Hampton in a three days' battle, extending from Preston to Warrington (August 17–19). Marching into Scotland, he helped Argyll's party, the *Protesters*, to recover its power.

§ 193. **Pride's Purge, December 6, 1648.**—Charles's duplicity—springing out of his conscientious belief that Kingship and Episcopacy were sacred charges which must be defended from wicked men at all costs—was the direct cause of the second civil war. The Army had therefore vowed vengeance against "Charles Stuart, that man of blood"; and Cromwell, who had come to respect the *man*, persuaded himself that the *King* must be called to account. When Parliament, therefore, re-opened negotiations with Charles—known as the *Treaty of Newport*—the Council of Officers presented the *Grand Army Remonstrance* demanding the dissolution of Parliament, and the punishment of the "capital and grand author" of all the troubles of the country. Finding the Remonstrance unheeded, the Army again seized the King, and "secluded" one hundred and fifty-three Presbyterian members of Parliament. The latter operation, known as Pride's Purge, took place on December 6; it left only about fifty members, who were nicknamed "the Rump," as being the sitting part of Parliament.

§ 194 **Trial and Execution of Charles I, January 1649.**—On December 23 the Rump voted that Charles should be brought to trial, and when the Lords declined to assent, declared that, as the people alone were the source of lawful power, the assent of the Lords was unnecessary. The Rump, which really represented only a small but armed minority, thus claimed to be not merely the House of Commons, but the whole Parliament. The trial lasted seven days; on January 20 Charles was arraigned by the specially created High Court of Justice, sitting under the presidency of John Bradshaw, as a "tyrant, murderer, public and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth of England", on January 27 he was sentenced to death (sixty-seven out of the one hundred and thirty-five judges being present), and on January 30 he was executed outside his palace of Whitehall. He believed sincerely in the justice and righteousness of his cause: many of his judges had an equally sincere belief in the righteousness of their action. His brave and dignified bearing during his last troubles attracted almost universal admiration: it was a political opponent, Andrew Marvell, M.P. for Hull, who wrote the well-known lines about his execution —

He nothing common did nor mean Nor call'd the Gods, with vulgar
Upon that memorable scene, spite,

But with his keener eye To vindicate his helpless right ;
The axe's edge did try ; But bow'd his comely head
Down, as upon a bed.

CHAPTER X

THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649-1660

A. PERSONAL HISTORY — This period is included by *legal* reckoning in the reign of Charles II (see next chapter), but he did not become *de facto* King till 1660. From 1653 to 1658, much of the kingly power was vested in a "Lord Protector" Oliver Cromwell (whose great-grandfather had changed his name *Williams* for that of *Cromwell* in honour of his uncle, Henry VIII's Vicar-General), was appointed Lord Protector on December 16, 1653, in 1657 he received parliamentary authority to name his successor, on his death, September 3, 1658, his son and nominee, Richard, succeeded him, but resigned on May 25, 1659.

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	TURKEY	ELSEWHERE.
Innocent X (1644)	Ferdinand III (1637)	Louis XIV (1643-1715)	Philip IV (1621-1665)	Muham- mad IV (1648-1687)	Christina, <i>Sweden</i> (1632-1654)
Alexander VII (1655)	Leopold I (1658-1705)				Charles X, <i>Sweden</i> (1654-1660)

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

(1) International: relations with—

- (1) France § 206
- (2) Spain § 206
- (3) United Provinces §§ 199, 200,
206
- (4) Sweden § 206
- (5) Savoy § 206

(11) Constitutional.

- (1) Scotland §§ 198, 203, 204, 210.
- (2) Ireland §§ 196, 197, 203, 204
- (3) Parliament §§ 195, 200-204,
207-211
- (4) Written Constitutions §§ 203,
207.
- (5) Church §§ 205, 211

I PARLIAMENTARY REPUBLIC, 1649-1653

§ 105 **Establishment of the Republic, 1649** — The death of the King left the Rump as the sole body with any show of legal authority; and such legal authority as it possessed was effective only because and so far as it had the support of the Army, which itself owed what claims to legal existence it possessed to the Ordinance of the Long Parliament (§ 187). The Rump proceeded

to assume the powers of an authorized governing body, and to take measures that no one should deny its claims. On the day after Charles's execution it formally expelled from the House the members "secluded" by Pride's Purge; on February 13 it entrusted the executive to a Council of State almost as numerous as itself, and consisting mainly of its own members, on March 17 it abolished the office of King as "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people" of England and Ireland; on March 19 it abolished the House of Lords as "useless and dangerous", and on May 19 it passed an Act constituting "the people of England, and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging" as a "Commonwealth and Free State without any King or House of Lords"

§ 196. Internal Resistance to the Republic (i) England and the Colonies.—The recent results of the Second Civil War prevented any fresh rising in England on the part of the Presbyterians or Royalists, during the spring Fairfax and Cromwell had to repress several armed efforts to obtain more revolutionary changes, made by various groups of men whom we should now-a-days call by such names as "radical reformers," "socialists," or "anarchists." Of these, the most important were the Levellers, whose chief spokesman was John Lilburne. they wished to bring Parliament under the control, not of the Army, but of the nation, and ultimately to level all distinctions of rank in society. Most of the dominions and territories belonging to England had to be subjected by force to the Commonwealth. After Robert Blake had chased Prince Rupert's fleet from the British seas to the Mediterranean and defeated it there in 1651, the Channel Islands, and the British plantations in America and in the West Indies were soon reduced to submission.

§ 197. (ii) Ireland: The Second Conquest, 1649—Before the outlying colonies had acknowledged the change of government, Ireland had undergone her second conquest. There no interruption had taken place in the fighting since the abortive *Glamorgan Treaty* of 1645, but the course of events in England had affected the balance of parties. On June 5, 1646, Owen Roe O'Neil, the gallant leader of the native Irish in Ulster, overthrew Monroe's Scots at Benburb, near Armagh, and thus greatly strengthened that section of the Confederate Catholics which, under the guidance of the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini, was aiming at national independence. About the same time, Charles had authorized his partisans to stop fighting. When Ormonde, therefore, in

July 1647 found himself reduced to such straits that he could no longer hold Dublin, he decided to hand it over to the Parliamentary Commander, Michael Jones, rather than to the Confederates. The execution of Charles I. changed the situation. Ormonde returned to Ireland, and made alliance not only with the Anglo-Irish section of the Confederates, but also with the Ulster Scots. But before the O'Neil could join the coalition, Jones had broken its power by a victory at Rathinines, outside Dublin, on August 2, 1649. A fortnight later Cromwell landed with his English veterans and with orders from the Rump to bring the Irish war to a speedy close. The orders chimed well with his inclinations—as a general, for prompt and decisive action and, as a Puritan, for severity to Papists. He avenged the “innocent blood” of 1641 (§ 171) by sacking Drogheda (September 11) and Wexford (October 12). In accordance with the custom of the time the garrisons were put to the sword. Having thus broken the neck of the “horrid rebellion,” he left the completion of the conquest to his son-in-law, Ireton, who finished his task before his death in 1651. The Rump punished the long rebellion, and attempted to simplify Irish problems by transporting large numbers of Roman Catholics to Connaught. Their confiscated estates were assigned to the unpaid soldiers and other creditors of the Commonwealth. As these measures were carried out by members of the Cromwell family, who for the next decade bore rule in Ireland, they are usually known as “the Cromwellian Settlement” of Ireland.

§ 198 External Resistance to the Republic: (i) Scotland.—Scotland, unlike Ireland, was not a dependency of England: it was therefore constitutionally free to choose its own path. But it was not practically safe for the English Commonwealth to allow Scotland to uphold the Stuarts. On the execution of Charles I., his eldest son Charles was acknowledged as King by the Scots on condition that he accepted Presbyterianism. During the ensuing negotiations the Irish Royalists were conquered, and Montrose, making an attempt to rally the Royalist party in the Highlands, was defeated at Corbiesdale in Ross, and hanged in Edinburgh (May 20, 1650). “Charles II.,” thus driven to accept either the Covenant or permanent exile, submitted to Argyll’s terms, and came to Scotland in June. In July, Cromwell, now commander-in-chief—*vice* Fairfax, resigned—crossed the Tweed and marched on Edinburgh; he was forced to retire by his former colleague, David Leslie, but took advantage of a false move on Leslie’s part to

defeat him at Dunbar on September 3. He took Edinburgh, but was still kept out of Stirling by Leslie. On January 1, 1651, Charles II. was crowned at Scone, and in August he pushed into England: he was overtaken by Cromwell and utterly defeated at Worcester on the anniversary of Dunbar. Charles, after six weeks' perilous wanderings in disguise, escaped to France: Scotland was conquered by Monk and Fleetwood before the end of 1655.

§ 199 (ii) **The United Netherlands**—The battle of Worcester, called by Cromwell "a crowning mercy," freed the Republic from all war dangers within the British Isles; and the rest of the English dominions were already being brought beneath its sway. But the Republic had yet to face one more armed attack—an attack not dynastic or religious in motive, but purely commercial. During the first half of the seventeenth century the Anglo-Dutch alliance of Elizabeth's days had melted away. There had been a state of war between the trading companies of the two nations in the Far East: the Dutch "massacre" of the English settlers at Amboyna in the Moluccas (1623) had been the most notorious incident in the expulsion of the English from the Spice Islands. Nearer home the Dutch had trespassed on English fishing-grounds, and fought Spaniards who had taken refuge in English waters, and after their independence had been formally acknowledged by Spain in the great *Peace of Westphalia*, 1648, they hoped to profit by supporting the English Royalists in the outlying territories of England. Blake, during his long pursuit of Prince Rupert, frequently came into collision with the Dutch, and in 1652 the constant friction kindled open war. Commercial jealousies weighed more than a common Protestantism and a common Republicanism.

§ 200 **The Navigation Act and the First Dutch War, 1651-1654**—On October 9, 1651, the Rump passed a *Navigation Act* which was primarily intended to weaken the Dutch in their chief source of wealth, the carrying trade, but which eventually proved to be the foundation of British mercantile policy for nearly two centuries. The Act provided:—

- (i) That *Colonial* produce (*i. e.* merchandise from America, Asia, and Africa) may not be imported into England except in ships built, commanded, and manned by Englishmen (whether of the mother-country or of the colonies).
- (ii) That *European* produce may not be imported into England except in English bottoms, or in ships belonging to the country producing the goods imported.

The Dutch protest being unheeded, open war broke out in 1652. Though the English navy had been reorganized by Sir Harry Vane the Younger, its efforts were at first unsuccessful. It is said that the Dutch admiral, van Tromp, after defeating Blake in the estuary of the Thames, in November 1652, cruised about with a broom at his masthead in token that he had swept the English from the seas. In the following year a series of battles took place—off Portland in February, off Yarmouth in June, and off the Texel on July 31—with the result that Blake, Monk, Deane, and Penn utterly defeated the Dutch admirals, van Tromp, de Witt, and de Ruyter. On April 4, 1654, the United Provinces agreed to the *Treaty of Westminster*, whereby they abandoned the cause of the Stuarts, promised compensation to English traders whom they had injured in the Baltic and in the Far East, and acknowledged the supremacy of England in the Narrow Seas.

§ 201. Quarrel between the Rump and the Army, and Expulsion of the Rump, 1653—In February 1652 an *Act of Oblivion* was passed pardoning political offences prior to the battle of Worcester. "The three nations" had been subjected to the Republic, "and thereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of all their labour, blood, and treasure." But instead of "settling the Commonwealth upon a foundation of justice and righteousness," the Rump, headed by Vane, devoted its energy to prolonging its own existence. The attempt led to a quarrel between Parliament and Army similar to that which had followed the First Civil War, and ending in much the same way (§§ 191, 193). On April 20, 1653, Cromwell, with the assent of the Council of Officers, interposed in a debate on the *Perpetuation Bill*, and telling the members that they were no Parliament, ordered his musketeers to turn them out of doors. At the same time he and his officers set up a new Council of State, in which military men had the preponderance over the civilians, numbering nine against four.

§ 202. The Assembly of Nominees, July-December, 1653.—Cromwell invited "divers persons fearing God, and of approved honesty and fidelity" to come together on July 4, to help him to "provide for the peace, safety, and good government of the Commonwealth." The persons thus summoned, one hundred and thirty-nine in number, were selected by himself from those submitted by Congregationalist ministers throughout the country. They were "godly" but impracticable: they wished to abolish Chancery, tithes, and Church-patronage without putting anything in their places. On

December 11 they abandoned the task to Cromwell. The assembly has been nicknamed "Barebones Parliament," from a prominent member nicknamed "Praise-God Barebone"; the Scots called it the "Daft Little Parliament", it was really a somewhat visionary party caucus.

II. THE PROTECTORATE, 1653-1659.

§ 203. **The Instrument of Government, December 16, 1653.**—Five days after the breakdown of this Assembly of Nominees, Cromwell, by the advice of his officers, assumed the style of "His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." He was to exercise the authority of Protector under the conditions of a written constitution called the *Instrument of Government*. He was to hold office for life; to direct the administration of public affairs in conjunction with a Council of State named in the *Instrument*; to have a fixed income for the maintenance of a civil service and of a standing army, and to be dependent on Parliament for extraordinary supplies. Parliament was to meet at least once every three years, and to sit not less than five months, the franchise was altered; and representatives were to be summoned from Scotland and Ireland. There was to be considerable liberty of religious worship, "provided that this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy." The main object of the *Instrument of Government* was to secure the mutual independence of the Executive and the Legislature—neither could legally assert any control over the other, and neither could legally infringe the *Instrument*.

§ 204. **First Protectorate Parliament, September 1654-January 1655**—In September 1654, Oliver met his first Parliament, which, in virtue of his *Ordinance of Union* issued in April, contained representatives from Scotland and Ireland. Oliver found his Parliament obstinately resolved not to regard the *Instrument* as binding—its Republican members protested against any form of monarchy—or, as they put it, "government by a Single Person"—and tried to restore the sovereignty of Parliament, its Presbyterian members tried to obtain a stricter church-settlement. In order to get business done, Oliver forcibly excluded one hundred members—a measure unparalleled in Charles I's relations with his parliaments—and took the earliest opportunity to dissolve the Parliament, as soon as it had sat five *lunar* months.

§ 205. **Arbitrary Government, 1655-6.**—The quarrel between the "monarchy" and the Parliament was followed, as in Charles I.'s time, by a fresh outburst of arbitrary methods of government. After

the suppression of various Republican and Royalist risings—the most notable attempt being Penruddock's seizure of Salisbury for "Charles II" in March 1655—England was placed under martial law for more than a year. The country was divided into thirteen districts, each patrolled by a major-general; and their expenses were defrayed by the *Decimation*, an arbitrary tax of ten per cent. on the property of Royalists. The arbitrary conduct of the Government applied not only to the persons and property of its subjects, but also to their religion (cf. §§ 163, 164). The *Instrument* had provided for the settlement of the Church by the Protector and the Parliament conjointly. But Oliver, like Charles, exercised a kind of ecclesiastical supremacy during 1654 he instituted a board of "Triers" to examine the persons nominated by patrons to ecclesiastical benefices, and also boards of "Ejectors" to get rid of unsuitable ministers. But these Boards, unlike the old Court of High Commission, used character rather than creed as the test of fitness, and, generally speaking, Oliver's arbitrary rule, though as liable as Charles's to the epithet "illegal," had at least the merit of efficiency.

§ 206 **Foreign Policy of the Protectorate, 1654-1658.**—The efficiency of Oliver's government weighed less in the minds of his own subjects than his irregular and novel position. But to foreign nations the constitutional fact that he was an "upstart" and a "usurper" was of less moment than the international fact that he was an ally worth having. "There is not a nation in Europe," he said with proud truth to his first Parliament, "but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you" He used his power, as he imagined Elizabeth to have done, in the cause of Protestantism and toleration. He made alliance with Sweden, brought the Dutch war to a close within four months of his formal accession to civil office; and in 1656 he forced the Duke of Savoy to desist from persecuting his Protestant subjects, the Vaudois. Moreover, he intervened in the long war between France and Spain on the side of the more tolerant Power, and so helped to force Spain to accept the unfavourable *Peace of the Pyrenees* in 1659. The chief incidents of the war were the occupation of Jamaica by Penn and Venables in May 1655; Stayner's capture of the Spanish silver fleet (worth £2,000,000) in September 1656, Blake's capture of another treasure fleet in Tenerife—just before his death—in April 1657; and Lockhart's successful siege of Dunkirk in June 1658. The immediate success, if not the ultimate wisdom, of Oliver's foreign policy was unquestionable. For a moment England became the leading Power

—military as well as naval—in Europe: in Dryden's words, "He made us freemen of the Continent."

§ 207. Second Protectorate Parliament, September 1656–February 1658—Oliver's success abroad mitigated, but did not abolish, the constitutional tension at home. He met his second Parliament in September 1656, and in the following June accepted from it a new constitution—embodied in two documents known as the *Humble Petition and Advice*, and the *Additional Petition and Advice*. This constitution increased the power of Parliament, and at the same time gave the Protector authority to nominate his successor and the life-members of a second chamber. It also proposed to change his title from "Protector" to "King", but at the request of the Army he declined this proposal. In a second session, held early in 1658, the Commons fell out with Oliver's "Other House," and made further demands for more power. He therefore dissolved the Assembly after a fortnight's sitting. Oliver, like Charles and Strafford, believed that government, to be effective, must be in the hands of a single man of action, not in those of a motley crowd of talkers. He described himself as "a constable set to keep order in the parish."

§ 208 Death of Oliver Cromwell, September 3, 1658—The summer following the dissolution of the Second Parliament was brightened by the successful campaign on the Continent. But for the most part things were going against the Protector. He was worn out by his long struggles in the field and at the council board; he was beset by the plots of those who were eager to earn the £500 reward offered by Charles for his murder, he had been deserted by many friends who, not having the responsibilities of office, thought he had deserted them and their principles, and, after the death of his favourite daughter Elizabeth, Lady Claypole, in August, he took to his bed, and died of fever on his "lucky day," September 3 (§ 198).

§ 209 Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, September 1658–May 1659—Oliver was at once succeeded as Protector by his eldest surviving son Richard. But Richard, being neither a genius, nor a soldier, nor a Puritan, was unable to retain that personal ascendancy over the Army which was his father's mainstay. When the Third Protectorate Parliament (January–April 1659) proposed to appoint him, though a civilian, to his father's post of Lord-General, the Army compelled him to dissolve it, and to reassemble the remnants of the Rump. Reduced to forty-two members, the Rump met under its

old Speaker Lenthall on May 7 ; and when it renewed its old opposition to government by "a Single Person," Richard gladly retired into private life a fortnight later. He survived for more than fifty years.

III. THE YEAR OF ANARCHY, 1659-1660.

§ 210. **Rivalry among the Generals**—Between the peaceful retirement of "Tumble-Down Dick" on May 25, 1659, and the peaceful return of Charles I's son on May 25, 1660, there was interposed exactly one year of anarchy, mainly occupied with attempts by various generals to attain the position which Oliver Cromwell had held, and with attempts by the Rump to regain the position from which Oliver Cromwell had dislodged it. In August 1659 Lambert suppressed a Royalist rising under Sir George Booth at Winnington Bridge in Cheshire—he then marched on London and dissolved the Rump. But George Monk, with the army in Scotland, declined to recognize this dissolution. Early in February he came to London and compelled the Rump, which had again reassembled, to recall the "secluded" members of 1648 (§ 193). The revived Long Parliament took measures for the restoration of Presbyterianism, and finally exercised its statutory power of dissolving itself on March 16 (§ 170). This was Monk's doing: he had resolved to use his power not for his immediate personal advantage, but for the establishment of a government which should rest on the broad and safe basis of public approval—as expressed in a "free Parliament."

§ 211 **The Convention and the Declaration from Breda, 1660**—On April 25 the new Parliament met at Westminster: it differed from recent parliaments in being purely English, and in being freely elected by the old constituencies. The majority, therefore, was representative of the political Presbyterians and Royalists who had risen together for Charles I in the Second Civil War. The restoration of the old kind of parliament involved the restoration of the old kind of monarchy. On April 14 Charles signed a *Declaration from Breda*, addressed "to all his loving subjects," in which he promised—*subject to the assent of Parliament*—a full amnesty, "liberty for tender consciences," security of property, and satisfaction for Monk's army. On May 1 Monk made known the Declaration to the Convention, which at once sent a deputation to the prince inviting him to return. On May 25 he landed at Dover, and four days later—on his thirtieth birthday—made a triumphal entry into London. The new order had changed, giving place to old—or rather to what *seemed* old.



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BOOK III.

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION, 1660-1688,

BEING

THE STUART PERIOD PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 212. **Retrospect, 1603-1660.**—In the general survey of the seventeenth century (§§ 131-138), some account was given of the political characteristics of the Stuart Period as a whole, and a broad contrast was drawn between its two principal divisions. In the brief but eventful quarter-century before us, our main business is to see how it was that the Stuarts, whose reappearance in 1660 was received with a national ecstasy of enthusiasm, were hissed from the public stage less than thirty years later. In order to understand this sudden change it is above all things necessary to bear in mind in what ways the events of 1640-1660 had, and in what ways they had not, changed the political conditions of the British Isles. The middle of the seventeenth century was a time fertile in political ideas and in political experiments. Many of the ideas have been put into working order during the Victorian Era: they remained for the most part unfruitful in practice at the time when they were mooted—partly because of the rooted conservatism of the English people, partly because their authors never obtained the confidence of the nation. Among the more notable of the political experiments of the time were Charles I's endeavour to govern without a Parliament (§§ 160-167), the Long Parliament's endeavour to govern in conjunction with Charles (§§ 168-175), and the endeavour of the party which had brought Charles to the block to govern without King or House of Lords (§§ 195-211). The first two of these experiments broke down mainly through the personality of Charles: the violent methods adopted to get rid of that personality did more than anything else to spoil the third experiment. Many of Charles's subjects had wished and hoped that he would change his conduct in this or that respect, and even joined in attempting to force him to change his conduct, but Charles never received the hatred and contempt generally felt throughout all three kingdoms for the military minority which had done him to death. Political Puritanism failed mainly because it did not retain its power long enough to conciliate

the majority: moreover, it was unattractive in its profession of austerity, and unfortunate in the early death of its "chief of men"—Oliver Cromwell. But though its positive work was swept away, it had achieved much on the negative side. Charles II. formally dated his reign in all three kingdoms from the day of his father's execution; but in point of fact nothing could be more misleading than to ignore what had happened since then, to pretend that the period of the Commonwealth was a blank in British annals. The First Stuart Struggle had wrought vital changes both in the institutions and in the public opinion of the country, and these changes combined with the altered position of international politics to give distinctive colour to the Second Stuart Struggle.

§ 213 **General Characteristics of the Period, 1660–1688.**—The Restoration of 1660 is often considered merely as the restoration of the hereditary Kingship; but it was also the restoration of the old-fashioned English Parliament—in the place of the new British Parliament, for which men's minds were not yet prepared (§ 203)—and of the Elizabethan Church, episcopalian in government, ambiguous in formularies, distinctly not Roman, still more distinctly not Puritan (§§ 114, 190). All the machinery of government, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was supposed to be "restored" as before. But the work of the first session of the Long Parliament remained valid. the restored Kingship made no pretence of being able to raise money without consent of Parliament: it had lost its Prerogative Courts—the Star Chamber and the High Commission; and for some twenty years it made no attempt to imitate Charles I.'s plan of doing without Parliament altogether (§ 243). The forces of love and fear, of suspicion and confidence, which worked the machinery of government, had undergone greater changes than the machinery itself. Both King and Nation had altered in these respects. The last two Stuart Kings of England retained, indeed, their ancestors' belief in the greatness of the Prerogative, but differed from them in adopting Roman Catholicism. Their subjects in England and Scotland added to their old horror of "Popery" a newly acquired horror of extreme Puritanism and a standing army—which had combined to make life highly uncomfortable for the average man during the last decade—a lively dread of civil war, and a general tendency to endure much from the King and any other lawful authority rather than hazard a fresh outburst of the "late troubles." The latter part of our Hundred Years' Constitutional Contest is determined by the prevalence of one or

other of these popular fears in England : Scotland follows, Ireland is dragged, in the train of "the predominant partner."

§ 214. **Chief Stages in the Second Stuart Struggle.**—The twenty-eight years before us are divided into two unequal reigns which are marked off clearly from one another by the distinct characters of the monarchs ; and each reign falls naturally into equally clear sub-periods .—

I. THE REIGN OF CHARLES II., 1660–1685 (ch. xi., xii).

(i) *The Restoration Settlement* in the three kingdoms (§§ 215–221).

(ii) *The Anti-Puritan Movement*, 1661–1670, during which the parties which had united to restore the old state of things join in devising measures for the punishment and repression of the lately dominant party (§§ 222–230)

(iii) *The Anti-Romanist Movement*, 1670–1681 About 1670 Charles II.'s domestic policy of toleration and his foreign policy of friendship with Louis XIV cause him to be suspected of designs against the Protestantism of Britain ; the answering popular and parliamentary attack on "Popery" reaches its climax in the "Popish Plot" panic of 1678, and the attempt to exclude James, the King's brother, from the succession (§§ 231–241).

(iv) *The Royalist Reaction*, 1681–1685 The violence of Shaftesbury and other leaders of the Protestant party—now called *Whigs*—seems likely to lead to civil war, and so causes a reaction in favour of the peace-promising Kingship (§§ 242–244).

II. THE REIGN OF JAMES II., 1685–1688 (ch. xiii).

James II. succeeds his brother while this Royalist reaction is in full swing, and resolves to take advantage of it to strengthen his Prerogative—by creating a powerful standing army and by regaining the power of arbitrary imprisonment—and to restore his realms to the Roman Communion. Blinded by his zeal to do what he believes to be right, he overrates his strength, and suffers a more sudden defeat than his father His reign falls into three periods distinguished by his relations with the ecclesiastical parties in England .—

(i) *His Appeal to the Anglicans*, 1685–1686 (§§ 245–252).

(ii) *His Appeal to the Protestant Nonconformists*, 1687–1688 (§§ 253–259)

(iii) *The Combination of Anglicans and Dissenters against the Crown in the interest of their common Protestantism* (§§ 260–265).

CHAPTER XI.

CHARLES II AND THE PROTESTANT NONCONFORMISTS, 1660-1670

A PERSONAL HISTORY—Born in St James's Palace, May 29, 1630, assumed the title "Charles II" on the execution of his father, January 30, 1649, but did not actually exercise the power of king until he was "restored" by the English Parliament in May 1660, married Katharine of Braganza (*d.* 1705), May 20, 1662, but had no legitimate children, died at Whitehall, February 6, 1685. For family connections, see Table, p xx

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	TURKEY	ELSLEWHERE
Alexander VII (1655) Clement IX (1667) Clement X (1670) Innocent XI (1676-1689)	Leopold I (1658- 1705)	Louis XIV (1643- 1715)	Philip IV (1621) Charles II (1665- 1700)	Muham- mad IV (1648-1687)	Frederick Wil- liam, "Great Elector" of Brandenburg (1640-1688)

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

(i) **International: relations with—**

- (1) France §§ 224-6, 229, 230
- (2) United Provinces §§ 225, 226,
229, 230
- (3) Spain §§ 224, 225, 229.
- (4) Sweden § 229,
- (5) Portugal § 224

(ii) **Constitutional.**

- (1) Church §§ 216, 219, 223, 229
- (2) Ministers §§ 220, 224, 227, 228
- (3) Parliament §§ 215-219, 222,
223, 227, 229
- (4) Finance §§ 216, 217, 227.
- (5) Parties §§ 219, 223, 228
- (6) Scotland: § 220
- (7) Ireland § 221
- (8) Colonies §§ 224, 225, 226.

I. THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT IN THE THREE KINGDOMS.

§ 215. The Work of Convention, June-December 1660:

(1) **Regicides.**—The assembly which Charles found sitting at Westminster is called a "Convention" partly because it lacked the royal

summons required to constitute it technically a Parliament, partly because its functions were those of a constituent assembly—a body chosen to decide the future constitution of the country (cf. § 275). Its main business was to determine the extent of the indemnity for life, liberty, and property which Charles had promised from Breda and to furnish supplies for the needs of the Government. After prolonged discussion in both Houses, a *Bill of Indemnity and Oblivion* received the King's assent at the end of August. By that Act all persons who had sided against the King in the Great Rebellion, or had taken part in the Government of the Commonwealth, received a full pardon, with the exception of certain classes and individuals who were either subjected to various disabilities as citizens, or ordered to be brought to trial before a special Judicial Commission. Those who had had any direct share in the trial and condemnation of "King Charles of Blessed Memory"—the Regicides as they were called—were especially singled out for exemplary punishment. In the end thirteen Regicides were beheaded, and nineteen imprisoned for life; the bodies of four prominent dead Regicides—Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride—were dug up and hanged in chains at Tyburn, and special vengeance was taken on four leading Presbyterians who were not Regicides. The bodies of Pym and Blake were cast out of Westminster Abbey. Lambert and Vane were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and to death respectively. The execution of Vane—which did not take place till June 1662—was contrary to the intention of the Convention and aroused unfavourable comments. In this case Charles II, contrary to his custom, was not on the side of clemency: "Vane was too dangerous to live," Charles wrote, "if he could honestly be put out the way."

§ 216. (ii) **The Lands Question.**—The Convention thus settled the principle of the "indemnity for life and liberty," but left many details to judicial bodies. In the kindred question of "indemnity for property" the Convention could not even lay down any principle, and left the whole matter to be fought out in the Courts. "During the late troubles" the Government had sold both royal and ecclesiastical lands, and also the confiscated estates of Royalists; and among the land-transfers of the period many which were voluntary in outward show had really been necessitated by the heavy pressure of special taxation imposed on Royalists (§ 205). The Law Courts dispossessed without indemnification all who had bought land from the late Government, on the ground that its existence, and therefore

its acts were illegal, but it treated all "voluntary" sales as valid. Thus, many who had lost either their lands, or their incomes for many years, solely through their loyalty to Charles I., received no compensation of any kind at the Restoration. One of these discontented Royalists aptly described the work of the Convention as "Indemnity to the King's enemies, and Oblivion to his friends"

§ 217. (iii) **The Revenue.**—Charles II. was much more plentifully supplied by Parliament with money than his father had ever been. Convention made him a life-grant of various taxes which were estimated to bring him in £1,200,000 per annum. Among these taxes was an excise on beer—a mode of taxation introduced during the Commonwealth, after the example of the Dutch, and now granted as compensation to the King for formally relinquishing the dues payable to him as feudal lord by tenants in chivalry. These feudal dues, like the feudal obligation to take up knighthood (§ 163) had become a troublesome and useless survival; attempts had been made under James I to get rid of them by law, they had actually been intermitted during the Commonwealth, and they were now formally abolished on terms advantageous to both King and tenants—the King obtaining a larger sum of money, and the tenants being able to foist some of the burden of the substituted taxes on to the shoulders of the community at large in the form of the Excise.

§ 218. (iv) **The Army.**—Convention provided the money with which Monk paid off and tactfully disbanded the bulk of the Army whereby he had brought about the Restoration. One of his regiments was retained, and, under the name of the Coldstream Guards, became the nucleus of the English standing army. During the reign of Charles II. other regiments were raised for garrison work or for service abroad, but this imitation of the methods of the Commonwealth was viewed with suspicion by all parties, who feared that the standing army might be used as an instrument of royal despotism. Having thus closed some of the outstanding questions of the time on a basis which, considering the exuberant loyalism of the hour, may fairly be considered moderate, the Convention was dissolved on December 29, 1660: in the royal speech of dismissal Charles bestowed on it "a name to live to all posterity—the *Healing and Blessed Parliament*."

§ 219. **Settlement of the English Church, 1660-1662.**—The most important question which the Convention left open was the future of the Church of England. The Commons petitioned the

King to consider the matter in conjunction with a body of divines; but the Savoy Conference in April and May 1661 failed to find any compromise satisfactory to both Episcopalians and Presbyterians (cf §§ 142, 190, 277). Charles himself was indifferent he thought "Presbyterianism was no religion for a gentleman," but on the other hand he inherited not his father's Protestant Episcopalianism, but his mother's Roman Catholicism, and what he really wished was toleration. As the King could not get what he wanted he let his second Parliament have what it wanted. In that assembly the Presbyterians were few in numbers, and the Episcopalian Royalists had matters all their own way. They repealed the Act excluding the Bishops, and, following the example set by the Commonwealth Government in ejecting the Laudian clergy, thrust out from their livings the 2000 or so ministers who declined to conform to the conditions imposed on all officers in the Church of England by the *Fourth Act of Uniformity*, February 1662 —

- (1) To have received ordination from an Anglican bishop
- (2) To use the revised *Book of Common Prayer*, and nothing else, in Church services
- (3) To declare unfeigned consent to all the contents of the Prayer-Book.
- (4) To renounce the *Solemn League and Covenant*
- (5) To make a sworn declaration against the legality of making war on the King

§ 220. **The Restoration in Scotland, 1660-1665.**—The Restoration released Scotland from its parliamentary union with England and from the presence of Monk's English army and garrisons, but at the same time it deprived Scotsmen of equality in trade-privileges with Englishmen. Moreover, Charles soon showed that, in his estimation, the Scots opposition to his father outweighed the grudging services which they had rendered to himself in 1650-1651. Argyll, who had set him on the Scots throne in 1650, suffered death as a traitor in May 1661. About the same time Episcopacy was restored in the Scots Kirk by the *Act Rescissory*, rescinding all ecclesiastical laws made in Scotland since Charles I's coronation visit in 1633, and the *National Covenant* was burned by the common hangman. Many ministers left their manse rather than submit to the new state of things, and preached to their followers in open-air "conventicles." These Covenanters were especially numerous in south-western Scotland, and there they offered a steadfast resistance to the attempts of the Government to suppress their conventicles as treasonable assemblies. In 1666 a

body of these Covenanters took up arms and marched on Edinburgh ; but they were defeated at Rullion Green in the Pentland Hills. During the greater part of Charles II.'s reign his chief advisers in Scottish affairs were John Maitland, Earl—afterwards Duke—of Lauderdale, and James Sharpe, Archbishop of St Andrews. Sharpe was a convert from Presbyterianism, and zealously persecuted the “outed ministers” and their adherents: in 1669 Lauderdale, who was a Royalist before all things, obtained relief for the Presbyterians—scornfully called the *Black Indulgence*—in the hope of strengthening the power of the Crown.

§ 221. **The Restoration Settlement in Ireland, 1660-1665** — Shortly after the Restoration Ormonde was again appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. There the main difficulty, as usual, was the land question. On the one hand, Charles was bound to do something for those who had helped his father, and who had suffered under the Commonwealth either for their politics or for their religion. On the other hand, it was dangerous to disturb the Cromwellian soldiery who had received allotments in Ireland, and it was also inexpedient to do so lest the Anglo-Protestant ascendancy should be shaken. Ormonde tried to meet the difficulty by passing two measures through the Irish Parliament—the *Act of Settlement*, 1662, and the *Act of Explanation*, 1665. The general effect of these Acts was to deprive the soldiers and adventurers of one-third of their lands, which were thereupon distributed among such of the Irish Royalists as had influence enough at Court to make their claims heard. The settlement pleased no one, and about the same time further dissatisfaction was caused by an English Act which protected English farmers from Irish competition by forbidding the export of cattle, meat, or butter to England. The commercial position of Ireland, like that of Scotland, suffered from the dissolution, at the Restoration, of the parliamentary union compulsorily effected under the Commonwealth.

II. THE ANTI-PURITAN PERIOD, 1661-1670

§ 222. **Beginnings of the Cavalier Parliament, 1661-1665.** — In May Charles II. met his second Parliament; it is sometimes known from its duration—it was not dissolved till January 1679—as the “Long Parliament of the Restoration”; and its exuberant loyalty in its earlier stages has earned it the name of “the Cavalier Parliament.” Clarendon had some trouble in persuading it to confirm the Acts of the irregular Convention.

During its first session it explicitly declared that Parliament had no legislative authority without the King; that it could not lawfully make war on the King; and that the sole command of the militia and of all other military forces by land and sea was vested in the King. While thus limiting its powers of interference with the Crown, it was careful to guard against certain attempts to interfere with itself (cf. §§ 193, 201, 210). In 1661 it passed an *Act against Tumultuous Petitioning* which provided that no petition for constitutional changes should be signed or presented to Parliament by a large number of persons, in 1662 it passed a *Licensing Act* which gave parliamentary sanction to the various restrictions on the Press—limiting the number of printers and presses, and requiring all writings to be approved by State officials before publication—which had hitherto been imposed by the authority of the Crown alone (§§ 114, 292), and in 1664 it passed a *Triennial Act* which, while repealing many of the provisions of the Act of 1641, enacted that Parliament should meet at least once in three years.

§ 223. **The Clarendon Code, 1661-1665.**—Besides this purely civil legislation, the Cavalier Parliament passed several notable ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical laws. The *Act of Uniformity*, its principal example of purely ecclesiastical legislation, was preceded by a semi-ecclesiastical measure—the *Corporation Act* of December 1661—and was followed by two Acts which may be described as measures of church-defence—the *Conventicle Act* of May 1664, and the *Five-Mile Act* of October 1665. The *Corporation Act* required all candidates for office in any municipal corporation to take the Communion in accordance with the rites of the Church of England, to renounce the Covenant, and to make a declaration against the lawfulness of making alterations in Church and State. This Act thus used a religious test as a qualification for lay office. The other two Acts attempted to protect the Established Church from competition in religious teaching. the *Conventicle Act* made illegal all assemblies for religious worship, save those held in accordance with the *Act of Uniformity*; the *Five-Mile Act* forbade ministers who had declined to conform to the Act of 1662 to teach or come within five miles of any borough or of any place where they had held livings. These two Acts were designed to prevent the military arrangements for rebellion being made under cover of meetings for religious worship, especially in the towns. Taken together, the four Acts are known, after the title of the statesman who was credited with drafting them, as the “Clarendon Code.”

§ 224. Clarendon's Foreign Policy, 1660-1664.—Edward Hyde had been Charles's principal adviser for some years before the Restoration, when he was created Lord Chancellor and Earl of Clarendon, and his daughter Anne became the wife of the King's brother, James, Duke of York. He had been one of the parliamentary minority in 1641 which approved of the civil reforms of the Long Parliament, but drew the line at meddling with Episcopacy or imposing further restraints on the King. His rigid conservatism showed itself not only in his home, but also in his foreign policy. Like Cromwell, he clung to the Elizabethan tradition of friendship with France. In 1661 he married the King's favourite sister Henrietta to Louis XIV.'s only brother, the Duke of Orleans, in May 1662 he married his master to Katharine of Braganza, whose family had recently, with French help, made the Portuguese kingdom independent of Spain; in the following November he sold Dunkirk Cromwell's last conquest from Spain (§ 206), to Louis XIV. for £250,000. Dunkirk was of no particular use, and its sale was recommended by Monk, now Duke of Albemarle and Commander-in-Chief, but its loss, like that of Boulogne and Calais, wounded popular vanity and helped to weaken Clarendon's position. Katharine's territorial dowry was more valuable if less esteemed. She brought Tangier—which, after being garrisoned for twenty years as an English naval station at the entrance of the Mediterranean, was abandoned on account of its expense—and Bombay, the first English possession, as distinct from *factories*, on the west coast of India.

§ 225. Colonial Expansion, 1660-1664.—Elsewhere also the early years of Charles II. were marked by territorial expansion. The African Company obtained a footing on the Gold Coast. In 1663 several of Charles II.'s intimates, including Clarendon, Albemarle, and Anthony Ashley Cooper, obtained a charter to found, south of Virginia, the colony of Carolina, which bears in its place-names the memorial of its origin. Charleston, the capital of one of the Carolinas, is situated at the junction of the Ashley and Cooper rivers. In the following year, Sir Robert Holmes seized the Dutch colonies lying between Virginia and New England; and in honour of the Lord High Admiral, James, Duke of York, its island capital, New Amsterdam, was renamed New York. Thus for the first time there stretched along the strip of country intercepted between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic an unbroken line of English colonies—from the French settlements in Canada to the Spanish settlements in Florida.

§ 226. **Second Anglo-Dutch War, 1665-1667.**—English aggression in the Dutch preserves of West Africa and the Hudson Valley helped to bring about a second war with the United Provinces in 1665; other causes were the enactment, in 1661 and 1663, of further laws on the lines of the *Navigation Act* of 1651, and the exclusion from office in the Netherlands of Charles II's nephew, William of Orange (Table, p. xx). In June 1665 York, Prince Rupert, and Edward Montague—who had been created Earl of Sandwich for bringing the Navy round to Monk's side in supporting the Restoration—defeated Opdam in Solebay, near Lowestoft. Fighting was interrupted during the remainder of the summer by the prevalence of a terrible epidemic, which, from its peculiar deadliness in the crowded capital, is known as the Great Plague of London. In June 1666 Albemarle attacked the superior force of Witt and Ruyter in the Downs, and was saved from destruction only by the arrival of Prince Rupert, but he retrieved his reputation in August by defeating a Dutch fleet and capturing the merchantmen in its convoy off the Dutch coast. The following month was marked by the Great Fire of London, which raged three days, burned three-fifths of London, rendered 200,000 people homeless, and gave Sir Christopher Wren the chance of setting upon the new city the stamp of his architectural genius. In June 1667 a Dutch fleet under Ruyter burned an English squadron and stores in the Medway, but was prevented from sailing up the Thames to bombard London by the promptitude of Albemarle. On July 31 the *Treaty of Breda* brought the war to a close: the Dutch kept Pularoon in the Moluccas and Surinam in Guiana, the English retained the Hudson Valley, but recognized the right of France—who had been the passive ally of the Dutch during the later phases of the war—to the colony of Acadie or Nova Scotia.

§ 227. **The Fall of Clarendon, 1667.**—The English fought well during the war when they had the chance, but they had been hampered by the inefficient civil administration of the Navy. The money voted by Parliament had been squandered on the King's mistresses; and the waste had excited the anger of even the loyal Cavalier Parliament. In 1665 it had stipulated that its extraordinary vote of over a million pounds—doubling the King's usual revenue—should be spent entirely on the Navy. Two years later Parliament followed up this revival of the occasional practice of parliamentary *appropriation* of supplies by insisting on a parliamentary *audit* of the royal accounts: it was useless for Parliament to be able to say that

money should be spent in a certain way unless it had also the power afterwards to see that it had been so spent (§§ 151, 275). Clarendon resisted these innovations, and was made the scapegoat for the disasters of the Dutch War. He had annoyed the extreme Royalists by standing between them and vengeance on the "Buff Grandees of the Independent Swordsmen", and he had annoyed the King and his mistresses by looking askance at their goings-on. Charles dismissed him from office in August 1667, and, when he was impeached in the following November, Charles urged him to leave the country lest he should meet the fate of Strafford. In exile Clarendon wrote his *History of the Great Rebellion*.

§ 228. The Cabal, 1667-1672: (1) Members and Features.—Clarendon's fall was followed by a marked change in Charles II.'s methods and policy. Instead of having one principal adviser, he worked with a small group of ministers, officially known as the "Committee of Council on Foreign Affairs," but usually spoken of as the King's *Cabinet* or *Cabal*. But it is important to remember that Clarendon was not "Prime Minister," and that the ministers who succeeded him did not form a "Cabinet" in our modern sense of those terms (cf §§ 266-273). The particular cabal which more or less enjoyed Charles II.'s confidence from 1667 to 1673 is known as "*The Cabal*," because the initial letters of the names of its members happened to spell that word, and because each of the five was a person of conspicuous personality. They were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale. Sir Thomas Clifford and Henry Bennet—created respectively Baron Clifford of Chudleigh and Earl of Arlington for their services in 1672—were Roman Catholics. Buckingham, the son of Charles I.'s friend, was a restless and brilliant profligate of no particular principles. to use the words of John Dryden—the Poet Laureate, and the leading literary figure of the period that followed the deaths of Milton and Bunyan—he "was everything by starts, and nothing long." Lauderdale was secretary for Scotland. Anthony Ashley Cooper, created Lord Ashley at the Restoration and Earl of Shaftesbury in 1672, was a politician gifted with exceptional wit, good humour, energy, and foresight. He was more bitterly satirized by Dryden than even Buckingham, and Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, later described him in such lines as these.—

"Another factious grave bell-wether,
Whose tongue 's the Devil's breeches leather . . .
The city's God, the rabble's leader,
A lord, a rebel, and a trader."

§ 229. (ii) **General Policy.**—Butler's description of Shaftesbury as a "trader" calls attention to his constant advocacy of the cause of English commerce: another cause to which he was true throughout all his political changes was that of religious toleration. Toleration and, in a less degree, hostility to France were the only points of policy which all the members of the Cabal had in common: in this respect their advent to power marks a change from the policy of the Clarendon period. In 1668 they brought in a Bill for the "Comprehension" of Presbyterians in the Church of England, and for the "Toleration" of other kinds of Protestant Nonconformists; but neither scheme was successful, and in 1670 they were compelled to let Parliament pass a second *Conventicle Act*. In 1668 also they assented to the *Triple Alliance* which Sir William Temple formed between England, the United Provinces, and Sweden to check Louis XIV's aggressions in the Spanish Netherlands. The "Triple Bond" between the Three Protestant Powers was immensely popular in England, and it helped to bring about the Franco-Spanish *Treaty of Aachen*, or *Au-la-Chapelle*, at the end of the same year. Samuel Pepys, the Admiralty official whose *Diary* tells us so much about the inner workings of Court life at the time, called the *Triple Alliance* "the only good thing that hath been done since the King came to England"

§ 230. **The Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670.**—Charles had no wish to quarrel with his cousin, the King of France—he admired Louis's religion and despotic government, and wished to imitate them in England. He knew that he could not effect his designs without foreign help, and the *Triple Alliance* was merely a device to force better terms from the French King for the neutrality of England. In June 1670 the *Secret Treaty of Dover* was negotiated between the two monarchs by Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans: in return for subsidies and a share of the plunder, Charles was to help Louis to conquer the United Netherlands, and as soon as Charles thought it safe to declare himself a Roman Catholic, Louis was to find further subsidies and lend troops to put down any rebellion which Charles's announcement of his change of religion might cause in England. Clifford and Arlington, and one or two other Roman Catholics, alone knew the terms of this treaty, but, in order to explain the change of front in foreign policy, Buckingham was allowed to negotiate another treaty from which the religious clauses were omitted, and which is therefore known as the "*Sham Treaty of Dover* (December 1670)

CHAPTER XII.

CHARLES II AND THE CATHOLIC NONCONFORMISTS, 1670-1685.

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS } ^{ORY} See previous chapter

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

- | | |
|--|--|
| (i) International: relations with— | (ii) Constitutional: (a) English— |
| (1) France §§ 232, 235, 242, 244 | (1) Church §§ 233, 234, 236, 238. |
| (2) United Provinces §§ 232, 234,
235, 241, 242 | (2) Ministers §§ 234, 235, 237
244 |
| (3) Spain § 234 | (3) Parliament §§ 234, 235, 237-
241, 243 |
| (ii) Constitutional: | (4) Justice §§ 233, 238, 242 |
| (b) <i>Non-English</i> | (5) Finance §§ 231, 242 |
| (1) Scotland § 239 | (6) Parties §§ 235, 237, 239, 241,
242 |
| (2) Ireland § 239 | |

I THE ANTI-ROMANIST PERIOD, 1670-1681

§ 231. **Stop of the Exchequer, 1672.**—*The Treaties of Dover* have been called by Hallam "the first act in the drama which ended in the Revolution" They do indeed mark a notable change in the international and ecclesiastical policy of the Stuarts, but the importance of the change was not immediately made manifest. For some time Charles was able to proceed with his plans without serious molestation. Early in 1671 he obtained a grant of £800,000 for the Navy, which Parliament gave in the belief that it was to be used for war against France. A year later—in January 1672—Charles obtained further funds by a device recommended by his Lord Treasurer, Clifford, and known as the "Stop of the Exchequer": that is to say, he announced that the £1,300,000 which had been advanced to the Government by the goldsmiths, the bankers of those days (cf. § 288), on the security of the revenue, would not be repaid when due but would be retained for a twelvemonth, and that the

interest would be reduced from 12 per cent. to 6 per cent. The trick was dishonest and silly—it was analogous to killing the goose that lays golden eggs; but it furnished ready money.

§ 232. **Third Anglo-Dutch War, 1672.**—In March 1672 Holmes made a treacherous and unsuccessful attack on the Dutch Smyrna fleet lying off the Isle of Wight; in June, York and Sandwich, in command of an Anglo-French fleet, fought a drawn battle with Buyter off Southwold; and about the same time Louis invaded the Northern Netherlands in person, with an army that included an English contingent under Charles's illegitimate son James, Duke of Monmouth. The main results of the attack were to rouse English feeling against the Government, to set afoot a European coalition against France, and to raise William of Orange to the head of affairs in the United Provinces, under the title his father and other members of his family had held before him—Stadholder

§ 233. **The Declaration of Indulgence, March 1672.**—Meanwhile Charles had been feeling his way towards the ecclesiastical revolution which he had in mind. In March 1672 he issued a Proclamation wherein, by virtue of "that Supreme Power in ecclesiastical matters which is not only inherent in Us but hath been declared and recognized to be so by several Statutes and Acts of Parliament," the King "suspended the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists or Recusants." This Proclamation—which had the effect of releasing from gaol many thousands of persons who had disobeyed the *Conventicle Act*—is known as the *Declaration of Indulgence*. Amongst those thus set free was John Bunyan the preaching tinker who during his eleven years' confinement in Bedford Gaol had written the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

§ 234. **The Test Act and the Break-up of the Cabal, 1673.**—In January 1673 Parliament reassembled after an intermission of nearly two years: it had little certain knowledge of what had been going on, but it saw enough to be suspicious of the King's designs. Charles had hoodwinked Parliament about his foreign policy, he had joined France, now obviously taking the place of Spain as the champion of Roman Catholicism, in a treacherous attack on a Protestant Power; he was under the influence of the French "Papist," Louise de Kerouaille, whom Louis had sent over to be his mistress and political adviser, and whom Charles had created Duchess of Portsmouth; his brother James had publicly announced his reception into the Roman Church, and was about to

take as his second wife a Roman Catholic princess, Mary of Modena ; and in issuing the *Declaration of Indulgence* Charles had not only stretched his Prerogative, but also, under the specious plea of toleration, he had taken "Papists" under his protection. These were the principal facts which caused the sudden revulsion from fear of Puritanism to fear of "Popery." In the session of 1673 Parliament compelled Charles to withdraw his Declaration, and to give his assent to a Bill "to prevent danger from Popish Recusants." This *Test Act* required all office-holders to take the sacrament according to the Anglican use, and to make a declaration against Transubstantiation. York, the Lord High Admiral, and Clifford, the Lord Treasurer, at once resigned : Arlington followed their example. About the same time Charles dismissed Buckingham at the request of the Commons, and also Shaftesbury, who, having discovered that he had been duped about the Dover treaties, had joined in the cry for the *Test Act*. Lauderdale alone of the Cabal remained in office ; and he really belonged to the Scottish rather than to the English administration.

§ 235. **Danby's Ministry, 1673-1678.**—On the break-up of the Cabal, Sir Thomas Osborne, created Earl of Danby, became Lord Treasurer and Charles's principal minister. Danby followed Clarendon's "Church-and-King" policy, so far as it was applicable in a widely different state of affairs. He was hampered by the King's stealthy endeavours to attain his personal objects, by the rise of a powerful opposition in Parliament—led by Shaftesbury in the Lords, and by Lord William Russell in the Commons, by the increasing suspicions of his own party, and by the difficulty of reconciling his own preference for a Dutch alliance with his master's preference for a French alliance. His five years' ministry was a tangle of cross-purposes, in which no person or party steered a straight or consistent course. Danby tried to keep the Commons in hand both by persuasion and by force (cf. § 146). He systematized the practice of paying members for their support with pensions or offices: hence the "Cavalier" Parliament in his time became known as the "Pension" Parliament. In 1675 he tried to pass a *Placemen's Bill* binding every officer of State, and every member of either House, to take the oath of Non-Resistance—i. e. to swear that he would not at any time "endeavour the alteration of government in Church and State." At the end of the same year he attempted to restrain external criticism of the Government by ordering the closing of the coffee-houses, where men met to drink the new

oriental beverage and to discuss politics or any other subject in which they took an interest. Besides buying off or silencing opposition, Danby sought to conciliate national feeling: in February 1674 he made peace with the United Provinces, obtaining their renewed recognition of the English right to St. Helena and the Hudson Valley; and in November 1677 he married Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, to her cousin William of Orange (Table, p xx). Meanwhile Parliament was swayed between a desire to join the Dutch alliance in fighting France and a fear lest the military and naval forces, raised for such a war, should be turned to purposes of which it disapproved, and Louis, fearing that England should be forced into war, was paying Charles for long prorogations of Parliament. Knowledge of one of these undignified money transactions leaked out in 1678—after the European wars had been brought to a close by the *Peace of Nymwegen*; and Danby was impeached for treason by an infuriated House of Commons. To save his minister, Charles dissolved the eighteen-year-old Parliament in January 1679.

§ 236. **The Panic of the Popish Plot, 1678-1680.**—The two years that followed the dissolution of the Long Parliament of the Restoration were marked by the assembling of the three short parliaments which truthfully reflected the national disregard of foreign politics and intense alarm at the growth of 'Popery.' In the autumn of 1678 tales of a Popish plot began to be spread abroad by Titus Oates, Bedloe, Dangerfield, and other miscreants. The details of these stories were absurd enough—that Charles and James were to be murdered, and Roman Catholicism re-established by a French army—but the nation lost its head, and was easily deceived. For two years any person who was suspected of adherence to, or even sympathy with, the Church of Rome, might be accused of plotting by any informer, with a good prospect of obtaining a verdict of guilty from juries and a death-sentence from the judges. The incidents which first frightened men into a panic were the unexplained murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the London magistrate before whom Oates had given evidence of his bogus plot, and the discovery of compromising letters among the papers of Coleman, chaplain and secretary to the Duke of York. These things affected the masses even more violently than the revelation of Charles II.'s underhand dealings with France affected Parliament.

§ 237. **Temple's Reorganization of the Privy Council,**

1679.—Charles II.'s third Parliament met in March 1679, and at once resumed the impeachment of Danby, sweeping aside as irrelevant his contention that he had acted by the King's order and had the King's written pardon, the Commons committed him to the Tower, where he remained without trial for some years. Parliament had not as yet repeated the endeavours of mediæval parliaments and of Charles I's parliaments to assert explicitly a right to choose ministers, but it had thrice got rid of ministers of whom it disapproved (§§ 227, 234, 235), and to many persons such a power seemed an undue encroachment on the Prerogative. In order to secure continuous harmony between King and Parliament trial was now made of Sir William Temple's scheme for the reform of the Privy Council. That body was in future to consist of thirty members—half officials, half private members of Parliament, all the members were to be persons of wealth and standing, and no public act was to be done by the King without consulting the whole body and obtaining the consent of the majority. Here was a Council in which Parliament "might have cause to confide." But the Council was too unwieldy for administrative purposes. Charles soon began to consult only an inner ring, and he did not always consult even them.

§ 238. The Third Parliament and Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.—Before Temple's scheme had quite broken down, the third Parliament had followed up its predecessor's *Parliamentary Test Act* of 1678—shutting out Roman Catholic peers from sitting in the Upper House—by taking into consideration an *Exclusion Bill* designed to prevent Charles II.'s "Papist" brother James from coming to the throne. Charles attempted to draw the Commons' attention from the Bill by giving assent to a Bill of Lord Shaftesbury's, the famous *Habeas Corpus Act*. This Act sought to stop various devices by which, since the reforms of 1628 and 1641 (§§ 157, 170), the Government had evaded or delayed the action of the *Habeas Corpus* writ: it provided pecuniary penalties for judges who refused to issue the writ at any time, and for jailers who did not render immediate obedience to the writ by producing the prisoner before the judge. The new Act did not introduce new principles, but it improved the legal mechanism for protecting the Liberty of the Subject in the matter of personal freedom. As the concession did not block the *Exclusion Bill*, Charles dissolved Parliament after less than three busy months.

§ 239. Whigs and Tories, 1680.—In the autumn of 1679 Charles issued writs for a new Parliament, but, in the hope that the

popular ferment would settle down, delayed the meeting of this fourth Parliament for a year. Shaftesbury led an agitation, which took the form of petitions for a speedy assembling of Parliament; and those who disliked either the method, or the object, of putting this pressure on the King expressed their abhorrence of the *Petitioners* in loyal addresses, and were therefore called *Abhorrrers*. These names disappeared with the question in hand: two nicknames they gave one another survived, were adopted as honourable party-labels, and in our own time have again passed into nicknames. The *Petitioners* were said to be no better than a set of sour-faced Lowland Covenanters—hence the name *Whigs*: the *Abhorrrers* incurred what was meant to be the triple reproach of being likened to Irish Papist bog-trotters—hence the name *Tories*. The coinage of these party-names illustrates both the frequent reaction of affairs in Scotland and Ireland on English politics, and also the existing situation in the sister kingdoms. Ireland was naturally elate at the prospect of a Roman Catholic Restoration. Scotland was equally alarmed. In 1679 the Covenanters of the Clyde Valley had risen against oppression (cf § 220), but after defeating their chief oppressor, John Graham of Claverhouse, at Drumclog, they had been defeated by Monmouth at Bothwell Bugg (June 1679). In the previous month Archbishop Sharpe had been murdered by a party of Fife Covenanters near St Andrews. The Duke of York, who superseded Monmouth as the King's representative in Scotland, crushed out the rebellion with great cruelty.

§ 240. **The Fourth Parliament and the Exclusion Bill, 1680.**—Roughly speaking, the Tories represented the old Cavaliers, the Whigs the old Roundhead party, and during the rest of the seventeenth century the latter favoured the limitation of the Prerogative by parliamentary law and action, the extension of trade, toleration for Protestant Nonconformists, and an anti-French foreign policy, while the Tories had for their cry, "Church and King!" When at last Charles's fourth Parliament came together in October 1680, the Whigs had a large majority in the Commons, and carried the *Exclusion Bill*. Its rejection in the Lords was secured by a remarkable man, who expressed his aloofness from the extremes of party politics by calling himself a "Trimmer"—George Savile, Marquess of Halifax. Charles told the Houses plainly that his habit of giving way to pressure could never be applied to the *Exclusion Bill*; the Commons thereupon declined to furnish supplies; and in January 1681 Charles dissolved Parliament.

§ 241. The Fifth Parliament at Oxford, March 1681 — Before the fifth Parliament met, the tide had turned, and Charles knew it. The popular sympathy with Thomas Howard, Viscount Stafford—great-grandson of the Duke of Norfolk executed in 1572—at his execution in December 1680, showed that the panic fear of Popery had burned itself out. The Whigs had fallen apart in the choice of a substitute for James: the obvious person was his daughter Mary, a Protestant married to the champion of Protestantism, but Shaftesbury pitched upon Monmouth, alleging him to be the legitimate son of Charles II. Moreover, the violence of the agitation was making civil war seem imminent, while the dangers of James's succession were entirely problematic why not give the rightful heir a fair trial? Charles cleverly took advantage of these circumstances to summon his fifth Parliament to meet at Oxford—where the Whigs would not have the London populace at their back—and to make a moderate proposal, the rejection of which would put his opponents clearly in the wrong. He offered to give his consent to a Bill providing that if his brother came to the throne, the actual administration of affairs should be in the hands of his Protestant daughter. On the refusal of these terms, Charles dissolved Parliament after a session of only a week (March 21-28, 1681).

II. THE ROYALIST REACTION, 1681-1685

§ 242 The Flight of Shaftesbury and Rye House Plot, 1682-3 — Charles did not live to summon another Parliament: unlike his father he had a comfortable income without any extraordinary grants. He not only benefited by the new sources of revenue devised by the Commonwealth, but Louis XIV —alarmed at the prospect of a union of England and the United Provinces under a single sway—had promised him £200,000 a year for three years if he would only leave Parliament unsummoned for that period. Charles had won his brother's battle and the cause of hereditary succession: he now felt strong enough to strike back at his opponents. His first attack on Shaftesbury failed because the Grand Jury of Middlesex, being Whigs, refused to find evidence sufficient to present him for trial for treasonable conspiracy, but at the end of 1682 Shaftesbury thought it safer to take refuge in Holland, where he died a few months later. After his flight some of the lesser Whig leaders formed a plot to kill Charles and James at Rye House, near Broxbourne, on their way back from a race-meeting at Newmarket

in June 1683. The plot was discovered, and its actual designers escaped, but some of the more prominent Whig leaders—notably Russell and Algernon Sidney—were accused of complicity and were executed. In these trials the law-courts, under judges like Scroggs and Jeffreys, turned against the Whigs the unfair judicial practices the use of which the Whigs had lately encouraged against the victims of Oates and his crew. About the same time Monmouth was sent out of the country, and York—despite the *Test Act* of 1673—was restored to his office of Lord High Admiral.

§ 243. **Remodelling of the Corporations, 1682-4.**—Besides taking vengeance on the Whigs, Charles prudently availed himself of his hour of triumph to diminish their chances of success in future Parliaments. The Tories, like the Cavaliers, were strongest in the country: the Whigs were strongest in the towns (cf § 176). In most parliamentary boroughs at this time the elections were in the hands of the corporations to secure a control over the corporations, therefore, was equivalent to securing a control over their parliamentary representatives. Accordingly, during the years 1682-4, judicial commissions were sent round the country which on various pretexts declared the existing charters of boroughs invalid, and left the Crown free to grant new ones, in which provision was made for securing a permanent Tory majority in the corporations. Though thus sure of a Parliament favourable to him, Charles allowed the triennial limit of intermission to pass without summoning a Parliament.

§ 244 **Death of Charles II., February 6, 1685**—After the collapse of the Exclusion agitation, Charles's chief advisers were a group of young men known as "The Chits"—Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, Clarendon's younger son, Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, a clever but unprincipled politician, and Sidney Godolphin, a pliant and ingenious financier. All these were friendly with the Duchess of Portsmouth, whose business was to keep England from interfering with the quiet extension of France to the Rhine. After a troublous time, through which he had gone with the unruffled cheerfulness that caused men to call him "the Merry Monarch" and "Old Rowley," Charles had thus a few peaceful years at the last. In February 1685 he had an apoplectic fit, and died after a few days' illness. Even on his death-bed he did not publicly proclaim his adhesion to the Roman Church; but before he died the Duchess of Portsmouth privately secured for him the ministrations of Father Huddleston, a Benedictine monk who had saved his life during his flight after the battle of Worcester.

CHAPTER XIII

JAMES II, 1685-1688

A. PERSONAL HISTORY—Born in St James's Palace, October 15, 1633, created Duke of York, January 1643, married (*a*) Anne Hyde (who died March 31, 1671), September 3, 1660, (*b*) Mary Beatrice D'Este of Modena, September 30, 1673, succeeded his brother, February 6, 1685, crowned, April 23, 1685, "deserted" his English kingdom, December 23, 1688, declared by an English Parliamentary Convention to have "abdicated," February 13, 1689, died at St Germain, September 16, 1701, buried at St Germain For family connections, see Table, p xx

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	TURKEY	ELSEWHERE
Innocent XI (1676-1689)	Leopold I (1658-1705)	Louis XIV (1643-1715)	Charles II (1665-1700)	Muham mad IV (1618-1687)	Frederick Wil- ham, Braa- denburg (1640-1688)

C. TOPICS OF THE REIGN

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| <p>(i) International relations with—</p> <p>(1) France §§ 250, 253, 261, 263</p> <p>(2) United Netherlands §§ 248, 253, 257, 260-263</p> <p>(ii) Constitutional:</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">(<i>b</i>) <i>Non-English—</i></p> <p>(1) Scotland §§ 248, 251</p> <p>(2) Ireland § 255</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional: (a) English—</p> <p>(1) Ministers, § 246, 249, 253, 264</p> <p>(2) Parliament §§ 247, 250, 257, 264, 265</p> <p>(3) Resistance to Authority §§ 247-249, 253, 259</p> <p>(4) Penal Laws §§ 245, 256, 258, 265</p> <p>(5) Removal of Religious Tests §§ 254, 250, 251, 252, 265</p> <p>(6) The Royal Succession · §§ 247, 260, 264, 265</p> <p>(7) Colonies §§ 249, 256</p> |
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I. THE APPEAL TO THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH, 1685-1686.

§ 245. **James II.'s Early Words and Deeds, 1685.**—In the Privy Council held immediately after the death of Charles II., James

pledged himself to "preserve the government in both Church and State as it is *now by law established*"; he would "maintain the Church, which he knew to be loyal, and the laws, which made him as great a King as he wished to be, he would neither relinquish his own rights, nor invade those of his subjects" His words were taken to mean that he had learnt the lesson of the Exclusion Struggle, that, while going his own way in the critical matter of religion, he would allow his subjects to go their way. His speech was published, and was generally accepted as both trustworthy and satisfactory: "we have the word of a King—and of a King who was never worse than his word"

§ 246 **James's Ministers, 1685**—James II. retained "the Clits" and most of his brother's ministers, but their relative influence was altered Rochester was promoted to be Lord Treasurer: his elder brother Edward, Earl of Clarendon, replaced the aged Marquess of Ormonde as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Sunderland remained Secretary of State Godolphin was appointed Chamberlain to the Queen. Halifax lost ground his services in securing the rejection of the *Exclusion Bill* in 1680 weighed less with James than his habitual independence and openmindedness, he was promoted to the merely dignified position of Lord President of the Council—a process which he himself described as "being kicked up-stairs" How far these men were prepared to go in order to keep in favour with the King was revealed by their attitude during the services according to the Roman use in Passion Week 1685 Sunderland and Godolphin "felt no scruple about bowing officially in the House of Rimmon", Ormonde and Halifax remained in an antechamber, Rochester obtained leave to spend holy-days out of town.

§ 247. **First Session of James II.'s Only Parliament, May-July 1685**—In the middle of May, James met his first and only Parliament. Thanks partly to the prevalent confidence in the King, partly to the recent Tory gerrymandering of the boroughs (§ 243), its loyalty was unsurpassed in Stuart annals. James himself allowed that "there was not more than forty members but such as he wished for." It would listen to no grumbings about the unauthorized levying of the customs after Charles II.'s death, to no protest against the recent interference with the corporations, to no petitions that the penal laws might be strictly enforced. It granted for life the same taxes which had been granted to Charles II., and it added thereunto for a term of years further taxes on tobacco, sugar, and wines, which were estimated to bring in an additional £500,000 a

year. James thus had an annual revenue of nearly two millions, one quarter of which was hereditary—*i e* it was derived from the Crown lands, or from the excise monies for which the feudal dues had been commuted. Parliament also gratified the King by extending the law of treason to cover attempts to change the descent of the crown.

§ 248. Rebellions of Argyll and Monmouth, May-July 1685.—Such “treason” was in active progress while Parliament was still in session. The Whig exiles—turned out of the United Netherlands by Stadholder William on James II’s accession—gathered in Brussels, and there resolved to unseat the man whom they had failed to exclude beforehand. In May, Argyll made unsuccessful attempts to raise his fellow-clansmen, the Campbells of the Western Highlands, and his fellow-religionists, the Covenanters of the Western Lowlands, and at the end of June he met a traitor’s death at Edinburgh, as his father had done before him. Rumbold, the principal author of the Rye House Plot, shared his fortunes and his fate. Meanwhile Monmouth had landed at Lyme Regis in Dorset on June 11, and issued a manifesto demanding annual parliaments, a reformed judiciary, and toleration for Protestant Nonconformists (cf § 277). Nine days later he assumed the title of King at Taunton. After failing in an advance on Bristol, he drew back to Bridgewater, and thence made a night march to surprise James II’s army on the half-drained marshes of Sedgemoor. Monmouth’s troops were raw country lads, brave, but deficient in both arms and discipline; he had no cavalry and artillery; the surprise failed, and the royal troops, who were professional soldiers led by professional soldiers like Feversham and Churchill, easily cut their assailants to pieces. The fight at Sedgemoor on July 6, 1685, was the last worthy of the name of battle fought on English soil. “King Monmouth” was captured in disguise a few days later, and despite his tearful appeals for mercy, was executed in accordance with the Bill of Attainder which Parliament had passed in anticipation of his defeat.

§ 249. Jeffreys’ “Bloody Assize,” August-September 1685.—These armed attempts to get rid of James II were punished yet more severely than the constitutional agitation of 1679-81. Immediately after the battle of Sedgemoor, Colonel Kirke—who had learnt the arts of barbarity while in charge of the garrison at Tangier in Barbary—pursued the fugitives, and put to death in summary fashion all whom he could lay hands on. This

military pursuit of the actual combatants was followed by a judicial pursuit of all abettors in the late rebellion. In the autumn George, Lord Jeffreys, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, went on the Western circuit, and in the course of his "Bloody Assize" he sentenced three hundred and twenty persons to be hanged, and eight hundred and forty-one to be transported to the West Indies. Jeffreys made no allowance for youth or sex, and he was not exacting in his demands for proof of complicity, but his zeal was rewarded by his elevation to the office of Lord Chancellor. About the same time Halifax was dismissed from office for suggesting that "mercy should season justice," and for protesting against autocratic interference with the constitutional liberties of the colonies in New England.

§ 250 Second Session of Parliament, November 1685 — In November Parliament met for its second session. James pointed out that the *Habeas Corpus Act* seriously hampered the Government in the work of maintaining order, and that the success of the regular troops in putting down the late rebellion showed the wisdom of increasing the standing army, and when Parliament declined to grant the necessary supplies unless the *Test Act* were strictly enforced, James angrily prorogued Parliament after a nine days' session. On the whole the hearty welcome given to James as King and his easy triumph over Monmouth did him more harm than good. His success infatuated him so much as to make him think possible what his religion taught him to be *desirable*, and what his notion of the Prerogative caused him to regard as *legal*. Across the Channel James's cousin and ally was setting an example which at once encouraged James and dismayed his subjects. In October 1685 Louis XIV set at naught his grandfather's promise of toleration to the Huguenots by revoking the *Edict of Nantes*. The French Protestant exiles who poured into England as a result of this revocation enriched the land of their adoption not only by their industrial skill, but also by warning their hosts of the consequences of over-confidence in "the word of a King."

§ 251 The Dispensing Power and Hales' Case, June 1686. — In order to effect the King's purposes the existing laws must be either altered or evaded; as Parliament would not join him in altering the laws, James was driven to adopt the alternative course of evasion; and for aid in the method of evasion James, like his father and brother, appealed to the Bench of Judges. Among the discretionary authorities included in the Royal Prerogative were the powers of modifying the actual application of the law known to

Stuart lawyers as the Dispensing and Suspending Powers. The former was an extension of the recognized royal prerogative of pardoning a person convicted of the breach of an existing law so as to include giving leave beforehand to a person to disobey a law. For instance, Henry VIII. had followed a common practice in licensing Wolsey to act as Papal Legate, despite the *Statute of Praemunire*. James followed the same practice in allowing persons to "dispense with" the statutory declarations imposed on the holders of military and civil offices under the Crown. In June 1686 the Court of King's Bench decided, in the test case of Sir Edward Hales, "that it was part of the King's Prerogative to dispense with the penal laws in particular cases." On the strength of this decision James filled his army with Roman Catholic officers; "for it was not right," he said, "that subjects capable of serving well should be prevented from doing so by reason of their creed."

§ 252. The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, July 1686.

—The Dispensing Power thus declared to be legal by the constitutional exponents of the law was of course applicable to other statutes besides the *Test Act*. In July 1686 James applied it to the *Act of Uniformity* by appointing John Massey, though a Roman Catholic, to be Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and by permitting Obadiah Walker, despite his conversion to Roman Catholicism, to continue in office as Master of University College, Oxford. As such offices were semi-ecclesiastical in nature, these acts were naturally regarded as breaches of the King's promise "to maintain the Church as by law established." In July 1686 James set up a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission somewhat like that abolished in 1641. it differed chiefly in having no jurisdiction over the laity. All its members were Protestants, but the member whose presence was necessary to form a quorum, Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, was known to regard obedience to the King's will as paramount. The new Court at once suspended Henry Compton, Bishop of London, for refusing to suspend a clergyman who had denounced the Papacy.

II. THE APPEAL TO THE NONCONFORMISTS, 1687-1688

§ 253. Fall of the Hydes, February 1687.—The established Church of England had officially asserted its belief that "resistance to the King is in all cases unlawful", and James, relying on this attitude, hoped gradually to bridge over the gulf between Anglicanism and Rome. As he found that the advocates of non-resistance were in fact quietly resisting his changes, James resolved to base

his work for the future on the *interests* of the Nonconformists rather than on the *principles* of the Anglicans. This change of policy was marked by the dismissal of the Hydes in February 1687 henceforth his chief advisers were drawn from the extreme Court party, who were either Roman Catholics or professed their willingness to be converted. The chief of these were Sunderland, Father Petre, a Jesuit, and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel. Having at length obtained ministers in whom he believed he could place implicit confidence, being on friendly terms with his cousin, Louis of France, and William of Orange, his son-in-law, and controlling London by an army of 13,000 posted at Hounslow, James II felt himself strong enough to do whatever he would

§ 254. **Scottish Affairs, 1679-1687.**—Early in 1687 also a similar change from a tentative to a decisive policy was made in the sister-kingdoms. Ever since their defeat at Bothwell Brigg the Scottish Presbyterians had been passing through a severe persecution known as “the Killing Time.” James had himself superintended the work of repression for some time, but on his accession to the throne he took up the same attitude as in England. He first endeavoured to induce the Scottish Estates to repeal the various civil and religious disabilities of Nonconformists failing in that, he put forth a Proclamation early in 1687, whereby, “by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey without reserve,” he suspended all laws against Roman Catholics and moderate Presbyterians. Naturally enough he did not extend his toleration to the extreme Covenanters who accepted the statement, made in the *Sanquhar Declaration* (June 1680) of their leader Richard Cameron, that the Stuarts had forfeited the crown by their “perjury and breach of the Covenant.”

§ 255. **Tyrconnel in Ireland, 1687-8.**—James II.’s toleration of Roman Catholics was no more popular in Scotland than in England, but in Ireland that policy was hailed by the majority with delight. Early in 1687 Tyrconnel succeeded Clarendon as Lord-Lieutenant, and set himself to complete the work of filling military and civil offices with Roman Catholics. Like his father (§ 162), James hoped to create in Ireland a standing-army which might be used if necessary to keep the other two British kingdoms in order; but Tyrconnel, unlike Strafford, was at heart an Irish nationalist, and hoped to use his power in the interest, not of the English Crown, but of the independence of his own country.

§ 256. First Declaration of Indulgence, April 4, 1687.—In England the fall of the Hydes was followed in April by the issue of a *Declaration of Indulgence* suspending the operation of all laws which imposed civil or religious disabilities on Nonconformists. As contrasted with James's previous steps, this was an advance from giving leave to individuals to disobey certain laws to the simpler process of allowing a general disobedience to those laws as contrasted with Charles II.'s *Declaration of Indulgence*, it did not limit itself to permitting liberty of worship, but sought to place Nonconformists on a footing of complete equality with members of the Established Church. Some Dissenters—notably William Penn, the Quaker who in 1682 had founded the colony of Pennsylvania on the broadest basis of religious toleration—accepted the relief offered with gladness, but most of them regarded it as illegal in method and suspicious in its ultimate object (cf §§ 233, 234)

§ 257. The Government and the Nation, 1687.—Certainly many acts of the Government about this time suggested that its specious policy of toleration simply meant the substitution of Roman Catholic for Protestant Episcopalian ascendancy. In the spring of 1687 the Ecclesiastical Commission punished the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University for refusing to confer the M A degree on a Benedictine monk commended by the King, and ejected all the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for refusing to accept either of the King's Roman Catholic nominees—Parker or Giffard—to be their President. In July 1687 James publicly received at Court a Papal Nuncio, and, dissolving Parliament, set about the task of remodelling the corporations in order to secure a Parliament which would be likely to give statutory sanction to his *Declaration of Indulgence* (§ 243). The attempt failed, and some of the staunchest Tories in England began to discuss with William of Orange what was to be done in case James continued his present course of action.

§ 258. James's Second Declaration of Indulgence, April 22, 1688.—In April 1688 James reissued his *Indulgence* with orders that it should be read aloud in the churches on the Sundays of the month of May. It was as much the practice then for the clergy to read royal proclamations from the pulpit as it is now-a-days the practice to post State documents on the notice-boards of churches. nevertheless there was in this case a widespread disobedience. In the four London churches where the parson, like the Vicar of Bray in the old song, "read the Declaration," the congregation protested by the simple method of walking out of church.

§ 259. Trial of the Seven Bishops, June 1688.—The “passive” disobedience of the clergy was approved by the Episcopate. Early in May, William Sancroft, the Primate, and six other bishops drew up a petition to the King praying to be excused from reading in God’s house a manifestly illegal document. The King called their petition “a standard of rebellion,” and ordered the prosecution of the Bishops for seditious libel. They were arrested on June 8, and the trial commenced in the Court of King’s Bench on June 29. The prosecution had to prove, first, that the document had been “published” by the Bishops, and secondly, that its contents were seditious. The fact of publication was proved by Sunderland, on the second point the prosecution insisted that to censure the Government was equivalent to rebellion, while Somers and his fellow-counsel for the Bishops maintained (a) that subjects had a right to petition the King, and (b) that the particular thing against which the Bishops had petitioned—the exercise of the Suspending Power—was illegal. After a long debate the jury acquitted the Bishops, and the verdict was received with rapture, not only by the citizens of London, but by the army which James had posted at Hounslow to overawe them.

1 III THE INVASION OF ENGLAND, 1688-1689.

§ 260. The Invitation of William of Orange, June 30, 1688.—The English nation had borne James II.’s disregard of its laws and prejudices with patience so long as it could count with confidence on the succession of his Protestant daughter Mary. But two days after the arrest of the Bishops the birth of a son and heir to James, who was certain to bring up his successor as a Roman Catholic, crushed that hope, and made it seem necessary to take steps to change the course of affairs at once. Men salved their consciences for plotting against their lawful monarch by catching at the rumour that the infant was supposititious. It was almost universally regarded at the time as a baby smuggled into the palace in a warming-pan. The popularity of the Seven Bishops showed clearly the unpopularity of the King, but the failure of Argyll and Monmouth had shown how little could be done by unorganized crowds against a body of regular troops such as James had at his disposal. Accordingly, on June 30, 1688, a letter, signed by seven prominent persons representative of all parties, was dispatched to William of Orange, asking him to come over to England with an army to protect the Protestant liberties of England.

§ 261. International Position of William of Orange, 1688.—William was interested in this appeal as a husband, as a Protestant, as a Dutchman, and as a European statesman, and in each capacity he had enormous difficulties to overcome before he could respond to the appeal. But in all capacities he was desirous of wresting England from its present connection with France—which James had felt bound to continue—and joining it to the great *League of Augsburg* which he had built up in 1686 to resist the aggressive policy of Louis XIV. William displayed great ingenuity in representing his intended expedition as a religious crusade to the Protestant members of the League, and as a purely political enterprise to his Roman Catholic allies. Ultimately William was relieved of his chief difficulty—the danger of leaving the Netherlands defenceless—by a great strategic blunder of Louis XIV. himself. When Louis attacked the League by marching all his available troops to the Upper Rhine, William was able to use some of the forces of the League in a counter-attack by invading England.

§ 262. William's March from Torbay to London, November-December 1688.—William landed at Torbay in Devonshire on November 5, the anniversary of the capture of Guy Fawkes. The recent memory of Monmouth's failure in the West of England made men hesitate to join him there, but on the other hand Danby raised the North in his favour, and James's troops were too much discouraged by desertions to enable him to resist William's advance towards London. Alarmed by his growing isolation, the King—who had already tried to conciliate public feeling by hasty concessions to the classes whom he had offended—sent commissioners to Hungerford to enter into negotiations with the invader and agreed to call a Parliament. Both armies were to remain at equal distances from Westminster during the session, in order to secure its freedom of action.

§ 263. Flight of James, December 1688.—In his heart James was resolved not to yield. He thought that if he withdrew for a while his opponents would fall out among themselves, and that he would then be able to return in triumph (cf §§ 190-194). On December 11, therefore, he left London for France—whither he had already dispatched his wife and child, but he was captured and brought back. During his absence riots broke out in the capital, and William's troops came in to restore order. William persuaded the King to retire for safety to Rochester; and thence, on December 23, James made good his escape to France.

§ 264. **The Convention, January 1689.**—By the advice of the Lords and of the City of London, Prince William now followed Monk's precedent of 1660 in summoning "a free Parliament"—called, like the assembly which Monk had convened, a "Convention." Its principal business was to decide the future government of the country. The four main courses open to that body were the two Tory plans—either to recall James with or without conditions, or, while retaining a nominal allegiance to James, to transfer his actual authority to a Regent—and the two Whig plans—either to assume that Mary had succeeded her father, as though he were dead and his son were an impostor, or, treating the throne as empty, to elect a person to occupy it. William having refused to be either Regent for the absent James, or Prince-Consort to Mary, ultimately the Lords adopted this last solution by accepting the Commons' Resolution:—

"That King James II, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant "

§ 265 **The Declaration of Right, February 13, 1689.**—This "lumbering Resolution" embodied that fantastic theory of the Social Compact which the Whigs had adopted in opposition to that of the Divine Right of Kings. Having thus settled its basis of action, and having further voted "that it was inconsistent with the national safety to be ruled by a Popish Prince" (cf § 278), the Convention offered the crown jointly to William and Mary, who accepted it on the conditions laid down in the *Declaration of Right* —

- (1) That the pretended Suspending Power and the pretended Dispensing Power, "as it hath been assumed and exercised of late," are illegal
- (2) That such Courts as the Court of High Commission are illegal and pernicious
- (3) That levying of money by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time than the same is granted, is illegal
- (4) That it is the right of subjects to petition the King
- (5) That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is illegal.
- (6) That elections of Parliaments ought to be free
- (7) That the freedom of speech or debates in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament
- (8) That for the redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

English Miles.

NORTH



BOOK IV

THE RISE OF PARTY-GOVERNMENT, 1688-1754.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 266. **Retrospect, 1660-1688**—In 1660 the Stuarts had been restored with almost universal applause, and on the whole they had retained their popularity throughout the quarter-century occupied by the actual reign of Charles II. We have seen how, in little more than three years, James II. had contrived to dissipate this popularity so completely as to lose the most important of his three kingdoms (ch. xiii.) · we have now to see how he lost the sister kingdoms and how his dynasty was kept out of the realms which he had thrown away. The main grievances against him had been his constitutional methods, his ecclesiastical objects, and—intimately connected with both of these things—his alliance with France. Naturally the Revolution of 1688 was marked by a strong but not unopposed or unbroken, reaction in each of these respects.

§ 267. **Incompleteness of the Revolution.**—The acceptance of the *Declaration of Right* by William and Mary forms a convenient stopping- or starting-place for the historian of *England*; but it must be remembered that in February 1689 that document did not bear the appearance of finality which it has for us who know the sequel, and that it was a purely English affair which had no direct constitutional concern with the other kingdoms in the British Isles (§§ 280-284). It was nearly three years after James's flight before William and Mary secured their hold on the two minor British kingdoms · it was nearly sixty years before a Stuart restoration was shown to be outside the range of practical politics (§§ 353, 354).

§ 268. **The Protestant Succession, 1688-1754**—Our main business, therefore, in telling the story of the next two generations, will be the Protestant Succession · that is the matter which dominates British foreign policy, involves the abandonment by England of the attempt to enforce ecclesiastical unity within the Kingdom of England (§ 277), and compels England to make Roman Catholic Ireland submit to a third English conquest (§ 284), and to take Protestant Scotland into full partnership (§ 310). *The Protestant Revolution also brings many constitutional changes in its train.

§ 269. International Aspects of the Revolution.—The Convention of 1689, unlike the Rump of 1649 (§ 195), had the majority of the English nation at its back, but on the other hand the ejected Stuarts had a powerful and interested advocate in the person of the French king. Therefore the English Revolution of 1689 was an international as well as a constitutional revolution (§§ 285-295): it was the first stage in a European war which may be called "The War of the English Succession," which itself was the first stage in our Second "Hundred Years' War" with France (1688-1815). Naturally this war was on a much greater scale than the First "Hundred Years' War" (1338-1453): it grew into a world-wide struggle for Colonies and Commerce (§ 273) and at certain portions of its course nearly all the states in Europe were directly or indirectly concerned in it. Throughout the long conflict the strength of England lay mainly in her insular position and in her Navy.

§ 270. Constitutional Changes. (i) **In Ecclesiastical Affairs.**—Various notable ecclesiastical changes were among the unexpected consequences of the Protestant Revolution. The expulsion of the legitimate monarch was in various ways distasteful to the Roman Catholics and to the party in the Anglican Church which was most nearly allied to them, through its respect for Authority claiming to rest on Divine Right. The advocates of the Protestant Revolution naturally rewarded the ecclesiastical parties which could conscientiously support them. The result was the granting of a measure of religious toleration to Protestant Nonconformists in England (§ 277), the recognition of a Presbyterian polity in the national church of Scotland (§§ 280, 310), and the repression of Protestant Episcopalians in Scotland and of Roman Catholics in Ireland (§ 284). All this involved the definite abandonment of the attempt to maintain ecclesiastical unity, on the English model, throughout the dominions of the ruler of England.

§ 271. (ii) In Civil Affairs.—One of the immediate effects of the Protestant Revolution was a diminution of the powers of the Crown by suppression of some powers and by making others dependent on the approbation of Parliament. These limitations, laid down in the *Bill of Rights* (§§ 265, 278), involved many unforeseen innovations which were widely regarded as objectionable but which were ultimately accepted as inevitable. The starting of the practice of granting only for short periods money-supplies and the powers requisite for the maintenance of military discipline made frequent Parliaments necessary (§§ 275, 276), and when Parliament, endowed

with such powers, met constantly, the King quickly found that he must choose, as his ministers, men who were not unacceptable to Parliament (§ 291). Gradually there came into being those complicated methods of keeping harmony between the ruler and the ruled which we know now-a-days as "Party-Government "

§ 272. (iii) In the Relations between the Different Parts of the Empire.—The Protestant Revolution was, in general terms, approved by the more important part of the Kingdom of Scotland and disapproved by the more important part of the Kingdom of Ireland. The consequence was that while Ireland was made more than ever dependent on the predominant partner (§§ 284, 335), England consented to the destruction of her separate existence, of her anglicizing aspirations, and of her commercial monopoly, in order to persuade Scotland to enter into a fuller and more permanent union than hitherto (§§ 309, 310) This new kingdom of Great Britain, partly because of the Union, partly because of the increasing influence of commercial interests, was destined to play a much more important part in the world's history than either of the vanished kingdoms could possibly have done.

§ 273 English Colonies and Dependencies, 1607-1688.—It is important to remember that these international and constitutional changes, directly or indirectly brought about by the Protestant Revolution, affected not only England or even the British Isles, but also the various territories outside Europe which had come under English rule during the seventeenth century (Table, p 170). These outlying territories had been occupied by Englishmen for various reasons and by various means, and they stood in various relations, both social and political, to the Mother Country. They can therefore be classified in many ways; but the most important classification is that drawn by nature itself in the form of climate. There were territories in regions where Englishmen could live permanently and bring up families, and there were territories in regions where Englishmen could not make their homes permanently, but where they were willing to stay for some years to enrich themselves by trading The former class are "colonies" proper, the latter class are "dependencies." At the end of the seventeenth century the English colonies were confined to a fringe of the eastern seaboard of North America; her dependencies were thinly scattered along the coasts of West Africa and Southern Asia, and neither were so much valued at home as were the intermediate possessions—ranking between "colonies" and "dependencies"—in the West Indies.

British Colonies and Dependencies, 1714.

I. EUROPE —			
	Gibraltar . .	1704	Taken from Spain by Rooke. } Ceded to <i>Gr. Br.</i> by the Taken from Spain by Stanhope } <i>Anglo-Spanish Treaty</i> and lost in 1756, 1781, 1802. } of <i>Utrecht</i> , 1713.
	Minorca . . .	1708	
II. ASIA —			
	Madras . . .	1639	First Indian territory acquired—by purchase from a Hindu prince in the Carnatic : Presidency, 1654.
	(Fort S George)		
	Bombay . . .	1662	Dowry of Katharine of Braganza ; handed over by Portugal, 1665, leased by Charles II to E.I.C., 1668 ; Presidency, by transfer from Surat, 1685.
	Calcutta . .	1686-96	Fortified by leave of the Nawáb of Bengal. N B The E I C had at times many other factories in Hindustán and throughout the Orient
III. AFRICA —			
	S Helena . .	1651	Occupied by E I C on its abandonment by the Dutch First visited by Englishmen, 1591 occupied 1618. Lagos, etc, seized from the Dutch, 1661 : ceded by the <i>Treaty of Breda</i> , 1667.
	The Gambia . .	1618	
	Gold Coast . .	1664	
IV. WEST INDIES —			
	Barbados	1605	Occupied 1605, and again 1624 : escheated to the Crown from its grantees, 1603
	Antigua, S. Kitts	1623	Occupied 1623 French portion of S Kitts ceded 1713
	Bahamas	1629	Occupied 1629 ; held by Spaniards, 1641-66, 1703-18.
	Jamaica . . .	1655	Captured from Spain, under Oliver Cromwell, and ceded by the <i>Treaty of Madrid</i> , 1670. NOTE — S Lucia was held by Englishmen, 1639-40, 1664-7
V. AMERICA —			
<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">i. South Colonies</div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">New England.</div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Maine</div> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">New Hampshire</div> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Connecticut</div> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">ii</div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Rhode Island</div> </div> </div> </div> </div>	Virginia . .	1607	After Raleigh's failures (1583-9), the London Co planted a successful colony, 1607 ; escheated to Crown, 1624
	Maryland . .	1634	A Roman Catholic colony founded by Lord Baltimore
	Carolina	1663	Founded 1663, divided into two colonies, 1712
	Massachusetts	1629	This colony, chartered in 1629, absorbed the Plymouth Colony of the Pilgrim Fathers, established 1620.
	Maine	1627	{ Both colonies fell under the dominion of Massachusetts till the American Revolution.
	New Hampshire	1627	
	Connecticut	1639	Formed by the self-union of three separate colonies, Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford, founded 1635-6
	Rhode Island	1644	Providence, one of its constituent colonies, fd by Roger Williams, 1636 Others Newport, Warwick, 1738-9
	New York . .	1664	{ Formed the New Netherlands, founded 1613, seized by the English 1664, and ceded by the <i>Treaty of Breda</i> , 1667.
	New Jersey	1664	
<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">iii</div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Mid Colonies</div> </div> </div> </div>	Pennsylvania	1682	A Quaker colony founded by William Penn, 1682.
	Newfoundland	1713	Discovered by the Cabots, 1497 } All finally ceded to Granted to the Scotsman, Sir } Great Britain by the William Alexander, 1621. } <i>Anglo-French Treaty</i> of <i>Utrecht</i> , 1713
	Nova Scotia	1713	
	Hudson's Bay T or Rupertsland	1713	Occupied for fur-trading, 1670
	Bermudas . .	1609	Declared English by Sir George Somers, who was wrecked there in 1609, and colonised 1616.

CHAPTER XIV.

WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689-1694

A. PERSONAL HISTORY — William and Mary were declared joint rulers of England, France, and Ireland by the English Convention on February 13, 1689, they were declared joint rulers of Scotland by the Scottish Convention on May 11, 1689. Mary was the eldest daughter of James, Duke of York—afterwards James II—by his first wife, Anne Hyde, born, April 30, 1662, married her cousin, William of Orange, November 4, 1677, died at Kensington, December 28, 1694, buried at Westminster. For William III's personal history, see next chapter for his family connections with the Stuarts, see Table, p. xx

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	FRANCE	SPAIN	POLAND	RUSSIA
Alexander VIII (1689) Innocent XII (1691)	Leopold I (1658-1705)	Louis XIV (1643-1715)	Charles II (1665-1700) <i>(Last of the Spanish Hapsburgs)</i>	John Sobieski (1677-1697)	Peter the Great (1689-1725)

C. TOPICS OF THE REIGN

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(i) International: relations with—</p> <p>(1) France §§ 274, 283-287</p> <p>(2) The Netherlands §§ 283, 285</p> <p>(ii) Constitutional:</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">(b) <i>Non-English—</i></p> <p>(1) Scotland §§ 280, 281</p> <p>(2) Ireland §§ 282-284</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional: (a) <i>English—</i></p> <p>(1) Ministers §§ 274, 288.</p> <p>(2) Church § 277</p> <p>(3) Army § 276</p> <p>(4) Finance §§ 275, 288</p> <p>(5) Parliament §§ 275-279, 288, 289</p> <p>(6) Royal Succession §§ 278, 289</p> |
|---|--|

I. THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT IN THE THREE KINGDOMS, 1689-1691.

§ 274. **William's Ministers and Party Relationships, 1689.**—William took little interest in English domestic politics. what he wanted was to have England, or rather all the three British kingdoms, solid at his back in his struggle against the

predominance of France in Europe. In order to gain this support he chose his ministers from all parties—more especially picking out those party-leaders who had actively assisted him to the throne: Danby, who became Marquess of Caermarthen and Duke of Leeds, was President of the Council; Shrewsbury, Secretary of State; Edward Russell and Arthur Herbert at the Admiralty. These four had all signed the invitation sent him after the acquittal of the Seven Bishops. The other leading ministers were the three men who had been employed in the Hungerford negotiations between James and William (§ 262)—Halifax, Privy Seal, Nottingham, the Tory colleague of the Whig Shrewsbury in the Secretariate of State, and Godolphin, at the Treasury. After the Revolution the Secretaryships of State became more and more important, while some of the older offices were weakened in power. Partly to diminish the power of individuals, partly to have more offices for distribution amongst the supporters of the Government, the practice of assigning the work of the great officials, the Lord Treasurer and the Lord High Admiral, to a Committee or Board—the Treasury and Admiralty respectively—now became more and more common. At the same time James II.'s bench of judges was dismissed, and replaced by one of a better stamp.

§ 275. The Work of the Convention Parliament, February 1689–January 1690: (1) **Finance**—The Convention, which had declared William and Mary to be King and Queen, was itself declared to be a lawful Parliament by its own nominees. Its main business was to consolidate and give practical application to the general principles laid down in the *Declaration of Right*. In finance it made several notable changes: besides voting more than half a million for the Navy, and a similar sum to recoup the Dutch for their expenses in aiding the Revolution, this Parliament began to draw a distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary expenses of the Crown, and, while making a life-grant for the former (about £700,000 a year, in addition to the hereditary revenue of £500,000), resolved to supply the latter by special grants for short periods only. In this session William promised facilities for parliamentary *audit* of accounts, and in a few years' time the practice of parliamentary *appropriation* of supplies came into regular and systematic use. Broadly speaking, the Protestant Revolution resulted in establishing parliamentary control over the *expenditure*, as the Puritan Revolution had resulted in establishing parliamentary control over the *revenue*, of the Crown (§ 170).

§ 276. (ii) **The Army.**—The Parliament was able to hit upon a device which met both the felt needs of the time for a regular army and also the strong and anxious prejudice against such an army. The national *well-being* seemed in danger if the Crown permanently possessed those exceptional powers of restraining the liberty of citizens which are necessary to maintain the discipline of a standing army, but, on the other hand, the very *being* of the nation was in danger if England lacked trained forces similar to those of her Continental neighbours. Accordingly, in March 1689 a *Mutiny Act* authorized the Government, for six months only, to punish by martial law all manner of insubordination or desertion by soldiers in the pay of the Crown. The Act was renewed for short periods, and its principle is still maintained in the modern *Annual Army Act*: thus the legal power of the Government over the Army depends on the continuance of the confidence of the Parliament.

§ 277. (iii) **The Church.**—Besides providing for the financial and military necessities of the new Government, Parliament endeavoured to protect it from internal treachery by requiring all office-holders in Church and in State to take new Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Some three hundred of the Anglican clergy, including Sancroft and most of the Seven Bishops, held to their doctrine of non-resistance and declined to take the new oaths: they were therefore ejected from their offices and, with their handful of followers, became known as the Non-Jurors, and this body maintained its existence and independence, claiming to be "the true Church of England," for more than a century. At the same time fresh penal laws were enacted against Popish Recusants, while the Protestant Nonconformists were rewarded for their support of the Revolution with the *Toleration Act* of May 1689. By this Act all English Nonconformists—save Roman Catholics and Unitarians—were permitted to assemble for public worship on condition that the meeting-houses were registered, that the meetings were held with open doors (cf § 223), and that the ministers took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. This measure of relief was much less extensive than that which William and Mary followed James II. in advocating: it applied only to *Dissenters*—i. e. Nonconformists who were not only Protestant but also Unitarian; and it did not extend to the removal of *civil* disabilities. But on the other hand it rested on statutory sanction, not on a strained use of the Prerogative, and it did not run counter to the national

prejudices of the day. The *Toleration Act* is important as being the death and burial of two propositions heretofore taken for granted by the English Law :—

(a) That the English Church and the English Nation are co-extensive in membership—barely distinguishable aspects of the same thing.

(b) That it is the duty of the Christian State to train all its members in the *one true* (whatever it be) form of Christian Truth.

§ 278. **The Bill of Rights, October 1689.**—Parliament was prorogued in August and met for its second session in October. The principal achievement of this session was the turning of the *Declaration of Right* into statutory form as the *Bill of Rights*. There were two important alterations. the Dispensing Power was entirely abolished ; and the English Crown was declared incapable of descending to, or remaining in, any person who became a Papist or married a Papist. The Whigs, having thus at last carried their *Exclusion Bill* in a generalized shape, endeavoured to clip the wings of their Tory opponents by inflicting permanent disabilities on all persons who had connived at the remodelling of the corporations during the last two reigns. William, who wanted to heal not to perpetuate party rancour, dissolved his factious Parliament in January 1690.

§ 279. **The Act of Grace, May 1690.**—The second Parliament, which met two months later, had a Tory majority. It threw out a *Bill of Abjuration* requiring the office-holder to abjure King James (cf § 301), and gladly gave its consent to William's *Act of Grace*, whereby indemnity was given to all political offenders except the surviving Regicides and thirty others (§ 215). The King was thus, after fifteen months' parliamentary strife in England, able to give personal attention to pressing matters elsewhere.

§ 280. **The Scots Revolution, 1689-1690.**—When James II. withdrew his troops from Scotland to oppose the Prince of Orange, the Covenanters rose against their oppressors, and there ensued the riots known as "the Rabbling of the [Episcopalian] Clergy." By the advice of some of the Scots nobility who were with him, William sent three Scottish regiments which had been serving under him on the Continent to restore order, and also summoned a Convention to meet at Edinburgh. When this body seemed likely to follow the lead of the English Convention in substituting William and Mary for James, many of the partisans of James—now called *Jacobites* from *Jacobus*, the Latin form of his name—repudiated the Conven-

tion and appealed to arms under the leadership of Claverhouse, whom James had created Viscount Dundee. In their absence Convention drew up a *Claim of Right*, declaring that James had "forfeited" the Scots crown, and offering it to William and Mary. They accepted the offer in May 1689, the death of Dundee, in a fight in the Pass of Killiecrankie on July 27, practically ended the armed opposition of the Highland clans, and in October 1690 William and Mary secured themselves in possession by giving their consent to an Act of the General Assembly re-establishing Presbyterianism in the Scots Kirk. The usual precautionary measures were passed against Scottish Nonconformists, both Roman Catholics and Protestant Episcopalians of the Anglican school, but on the whole the Revolution church-settlement in Scotland was temperate. William thus expressed his own views in a message to the General Assembly.—

"We could never be of the mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion, nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party. Moderation is what religion requires, neighbouring churches expect it from you, and we recommend it to you."

§ 281. The Massacre of Glencoe, February 1692.—It was easier to "intend" than to attain such moderation. The acts of the Convention and of the General Assembly had comparatively little interest for the Highlands, where the clans still lived in patriarchal style under their chiefs and supported themselves largely by cattle-stealing. Nor did the Highlanders take kindly to a Revolution which restored to power the hated clan of Campbell (cf. § 186). But after the dispersion of their forces and the establishment of Fort William in the heart of the Highlands, most of the chieftains obeyed the order, rendered attractive by gifts of money, to take the Oath of Allegiance before December 31, 1691. Ian MacDonald of Glencoe, near Loch Linnhe, accidentally failed to comply with these conditions, and William's ministers, not knowing that he had made his submission after the time had expired, resolved to make him an example. In the early morning of February 13, 1692, a detachment of troops, mainly belonging to the Campbell connection, treacherously rose against the chief of his clan, whose hospitality they had been enjoying for some days, and successfully carried out William's order "to extirpate that sect of thieves."

§ 282. Third English Conquest of Ireland: (i) Siege of

Londonderry, 1689.—While Scotland obtained a religious settlement agreeable to the majority of its people as the reward for accepting the change of dynasty, Ireland took a different course and received different treatment. James II.'s policy had suited the religious feelings of the majority of the Irish nation; and the bulk of that nation remained true to his cause after it had failed in the sister kingdoms. In March 1689 James landed at Kinsale and at once held a Parliament in Dublin which, representing the opinion of the Roman Catholic majority, repealed the *Restoration Acts of Settlement* (§ 221), and attainted a large number of Protestants. Meanwhile the Protestant inhabitants of Ulster took refuge in the towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen, and there contrived to beat off the attacks of the besiegers. After undergoing great privations, Londonderry was relieved by Kirke on July 30, 1689—three days after the battle of Killiecrankie; and a few days later the Enniskilleners sallied forth and won a victory at Newtown Butler.

§ 283 (i) **Battles of the Boyne and Beachy Head, 1690.**—In June 1690 William took the field in person against his rival. Landing near Belfast with an army of English and Dutch troops, he pushed south towards Dublin, and on July 1 won so complete a victory at the battle of the Boyne that James incontinently fled to France. William occupied Dublin and laid siege to Limerick, but was driven off by Patrick Sarsfield. William then returned to England, while John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, formerly an intimate friend of James II, overran the south of Ireland. The struggle was not yet over. on the day before the battle of the Boyne the French fleet under Tourville had completely defeated the Anglo-Dutch fleet under Herbert, now Lord Torrington, off Beachy Head, and, by obtaining the command of the seas, had acquired the power of transporting troops in safety from France to Ireland.

§ 284 (ii) **Siege and Treaty of Limerick, 1691.**—The French troops did not work smoothly with their Irish allies: none the less, they made a stubborn struggle in the final campaign of 1691. In July, Ginkel, having taken Athlone, defeated the Franco-Irish army at Aghrim, the French commander, St. Ruth, fell in the battle; but his successor, Sarsfield, held Limerick for nearly two months before he was obliged to surrender in October 1691. The *Treaty of Limerick* permitted the Irishmen who had fought for James to leave the country with their personal property, and also contained certain stipulations relating to the non-combatants. Under the military

capitulation over 30,000 fighting men were conveyed to France: the civil articles were not observed, and they have therefore been branded with the name of the *Broken Treaty*. More than a million acres of land were confiscated, the Roman Catholics were shut out from all offices and professions, and were forbidden to meet for religious worship, and additional restrictions were placed on the trade and industries of Ireland in the supposed interests of English agriculture and manufactures. The English and the Irish Parliaments worked together to build up both the Penal Code and the Commercial Code, and for nearly a century Ireland lay crushed beneath the heel of the Anglo-Protestant ascendancy (§ 410).

II THE DEFENCE OF THE REVOLUTION, 1691-1694.

§ 285. **Theatres of the War of the English Succession, 1688-1697**—The fighting in the European War which, from a British point of view, is called the War of the English Succession, took place not only in Scotland and in Ireland and on the seas, but also in the Southern Netherlands—"the cock-pit of Europe." There for the next six summers after the Boyne campaign William III. commanded in person the troops of the Allies. He seldom won a battle, but on the whole he maintained his ground and kept France in check. Throughout he was hampered not only by the difficulty of managing a number of quarrelsome Allies, but also by the jealousy of the Dutch Burgher party, by parliamentary wranglings and by the half-heartedness of his ministers in England. Most of the British politicians of the day, thinking it likely that there would be a second Restoration, took care to be on the safe side by holding communication with the exiled James II., and occasionally sending information of William's designs. For instance, Torrington was suspected—though unjustly—of losing the battle of Beachy Head in order to curry favour with James; and early in 1692, for a similar but better-grounded reason, William had to dismiss Marlborough, whom he regarded as the greatest military genius in his service, and who more than justified William's estimate during the great wars of Anne's reign (1702-1713).

§ 286 **Battles of La Hogue and Steinkirk, 1692.**—William's first campaign on the Continent was marked by his failure to save the fortress of Mons; his second, by his defeat at Steinkirk in August 1692, and by his failure to relieve Namur. But these defeats were more than counterbalanced by Russell's great naval victory in a running fight with Tourville off La Hogue (May

19-24). This victory not only stopped the projected invasion of England, but also restored to the English Navy the command of the seas. It also illustrated how the dependence of James on French help weakened the Jacobite cause. Russell himself was prepared to welcome James back, but he was not prepared to accept defeat at the hands of the French ; and James, watching the defeat of his hopes from the shore, showed his sympathy with the national spirit by exclaiming, " See how my brave English fight ! "

§ 287 **Fighting by Land and Sea, 1693-4.**—In July 1693 William was badly beaten by Luxembourg at Landen or Neerwinden. In the preceding month Tourville surprised the valuable Smyrna fleet off Lagos in Portugal, as it was sailing from London to the Mediterranean, defeated Rooke's convoying squadron, and captured or sunk nearly three hundred merchantmen. In June 1694 Talmash, the most promising of the English generals after Marlborough, lost his life in an unsuccessful attack on Brest.

§ 288 **English Finance, 1693-4**—All this fighting not only compelled the English to learn again the art of war, but also involved the devising of new financial expedients to bear the strain of a prolonged struggle. These new expedients—for which Godolphin and Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, were largely responsible—consisted partly in improving the methods of taxation, partly in throwing the burden of the war on posterity by borrowing the surplus wealth of the merchant class. The National Debt dates from 1693, when the Government borrowed £1,000,000, not on the personal security of the King, but on the parliamentary security of the nation (cf. § 231). In the following year a group of Whig capitalists, in return for a loan of £1,200,000 at 8%, received a charter to found the Bank of England, and became the chief financial agents of the Government. The advantages were mutual. the Bank, having a well-secured income from the Government, could offer greater facilities than its private competitors both for depositors and for borrowers ; and the Government obtained not only the financial but the political support of the moneyed classes.

§ 289. **Death of Queen Mary, December 1694.**—Finance took up most of the time of the second Parliament of William and Mary ; but, in its last session, despite the King's opposition, it passed an important constitutional measure limiting the duration of Parliament to three years. A few days after this *Third Triennial Act* became law, the then virulent and common disease, small-pox, deprived William of his consort, Queen Mary.

CHAPTER XV.

WILLIAM III, 1694-1702

A PERSONAL HISTORY—Posthumous son of William II., Prince of Orange, etc., by Mary, elder daughter of Charles I of England born at The Hague, November 4, 1650, elected Stadholder of Holland, etc., July 8, 1672, married Mary, elder daughter of James, Duke of York, afterwards James II., November 4, 1677, succeeded his father-in-law as King of England, etc., February 13, 1689, as King of Scotland, May 11, 1689, sole monarch after his wife's death, December 28, 1694, died at Kensington, March 8, 1702; buried at Westminster, no children For his family connections, see Table, p xx

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

EMPIRE	PAPACY	FRANCE.	SPAIN	SWEDEN	RUSSIA
Leopold I (1658-1705)	Innocent XII (1691) Clement XI (1700-1720)	LOUIS XIV (1643-1715)	Charles II (1665-1700) <i>(Last of the Spanish Hapsburgs)</i>	Charles XI (1600) Charles XII (1697-1718)	Peter the Great (1689-1725)

C TOPICS OF THE REIGN

(i) International: relations with—

- (1) France §§ 293, 295, 298, 300
- (2) The Netherlands §§ 293, 295, 296
- (3) The Empire §§ 295, 298
- (4) Spain §§ 296-298, 301.
- (5) Hanover § 299

(ii) Constitutional.

- (1) Ministers §§ 291, 296, 299, 300.
- (2) Finance §§ 294, 296
- (3) Press §§ 292, 301.
- (4) Army § 296
- (5) Royal Succession §§ 290, 293, 299, 300
- (6) Ireland § 296
- (7) Scotland § 297.
- (8) Colonies § 302

I. CONCLUSION OF THE WAR OF THE ENGLISH SUCCESSION, 1695-1697.

§ 290. Effects of Mary's Death on William's Position.—The death of Queen Mary seriously weakened the position of William

III. She was a Stuart, and, assuming the spuriousness of James II.'s son, the next heir to the throne after her father; her domestic virtues and warmheartedness made her personally popular; and her tactful energy did much to smooth the working of the machinery of government, the direction of which she had voluntarily left in her husband's hands. Her death left William exposed to the full brunt of the dislike which his foreign extraction and his cold manner excited in the mind of the average Englishman. In particular the Tories, who somehow salved their consciences for their "sin" in deserting James by the thought that the natural course of events had only been anticipated by a few years in the elevation of his daughter to the throne (§ 264), tended to drift more and more away from their allegiance to the King; and the years following Mary's death were exceptionally full of Jacobite intrigues.

§ 291 **Experiment in Party-Government, 1695-1698.**—The consciousness of isolation caused by Mary's death impelled William to adopt a plan recommended by Sunderland to secure steadiness and strength in the Government. Sunderland pointed out to the King that his ministers would work better together if they held similar political views, and that they would be less hampered by the growing interference of the House of Commons if the ministers were of the same party complexion as the majority in the House of Commons, and, applying these principles to the political situation at the time, he further pointed out that the Whigs, who happened to have a parliamentary majority at the moment, were satisfied with his title to the crown, and were hearty supporters of the war in which that title was being vindicated. There was no definite "change of ministry" as in our own day, but as Tory ministers dropped off one by one Whigs took their places, and from 1697 to 1699 all the principal ministers were Whigs. The chief four—Somers, Lord Keeper, Montague, First Lord of the Treasury after Godolphin's retirement; Russell, and Thomas Wharton—were called "the Junto." The Junto forms a kind of half-way house between the Cabal of Charles II.'s time—a mere group of royal favourites—and our modern Cabinet—an organized group of party-leaders under a Prime Minister.

§ 292. **Lapse of the Licensing Act, 1695.**—The censorship of the Press and the other regulations about printing authorized by the *Licensing Act*—first passed in 1662 and periodically renewed since that time—had not worked satisfactorily; and in 1695 Parliament, not having time to amend the machinery, allowed the

Act to expire. The increasing strength of the State as compared with all other organizations in the country made it less timorous of criticism; and since 1695 the Government, instead of directly attempting to prevent the publication of opinions or statements, has contented itself with leaving the law-courts to decide whether anything actually published is in any way harmful to the general weal.

§ 293. **Jacobite Plots and the Loyal Association, 1696.**—Early in 1696 two notable Jacobite schemes came to light. James, Duke of Berwick, an illegitimate son of James II by Marlborough's sister Arabella, proposed to invade England with a French force, while Sir George Barclay was to seize William, and, if necessary, cut his throat. William's re-capture of Namur in October 1695 had made him popular for the moment, many who had no liking for William had still less liking for French invasions and nocturnal assassinations, and the discovery of the twin plot roused a burst of enthusiasm, which expressed itself, among other ways, in the formation of a Loyal Association like that of 1585 (§ 123). Among those who were executed for their share in the murder scheme was Sir John Fenwick, who was the last person to suffer death by Act of Attainder. The reason for adopting this extra-judicial procedure was that, owing to the abduction of one of the witnesses, there was not enough evidence to convict him under the recent *Treason-Trials Act*, which gave persons accused of treason facilities for defending themselves, and required at least two witnesses of each overt act of treason.

§ 294. **Restoration of the Currency, 1696.**—Those who donned the orange ribbon of the Loyal Association pledged themselves to support the war against France. But for this purpose money was required as well as zeal, and the year 1696 witnessed some notable attempts to unprove the financial strength of England. Robert Harley promoted a scheme called the Land-Bank, which was an attempt to make the Government indebted to the Tory landowners in the same way as the Bank of England made it indebted to the Whig merchant interest. As the landowners had no ready money to spare the scheme failed utterly; but the Bank of England speedily found the money required immediately for the war. At the same time the general financial position of the country was permanently benefited by the restoration of the currency. Since Elizabeth's time the coinage had been going from bad to worse; the coins were badly shaped and easy to "clip"; and the result was that coins were frequently worth in weight less than half their face-

value (cf. § 83). By the advice of the politicians Montague and Somers, and under the practical management of the philosophers John Locke and Isaac Newton, the old coinage was replaced in 1696 by a new coinage, secured against defacing by having "milled" edges. The Government, by giving good coins for bad, bore the immediate loss caused by the change—more than £1,000,000; but it profited in the long run by the consequent improvement in trade and credit. At the same time Montague persuaded Parliament to pledge the entire public resources of the country as security for the public liabilities.

§ 295. **Peace of Ryswick, 1697.**—The financial power of England and the United Provinces was having its effect in the struggle against France. Louis XIV had better troops, but he could not bring them to bear even on the United Netherlands, much less on the island-kingdom, the control of which he had so lightly allowed to pass to the ablest of his antagonists. In September and October 1697 he made peace with all his enemies—England, the United Provinces, Spain, the Empire, and several of the princes within the Empire—in the group of treaties known as the *Peace of Ryswick*. He abandoned all conquests since 1678 and formally recognized the Protestant Succession in the British Isles.

II. THE SWING OF THE PARTY PENDULUM, 1698-1702.

§ 296. **Parliamentary Attacks on William, 1698-1700.**—Both William and Louis regarded the peace merely as a breathing space, and silently set about the work of making ready for the approaching scramble for the Spanish dominions. But here William stood almost alone. The National Debt had risen during the war to more than £14,000,000, an amount which filled the politicians of those days with alarm: the standing army was regarded as both costly and dangerous to the Constitution. Hence, while William wished to keep up the Army as the best guarantee of peace, Parliament wished to take advantage of the peace to reduce the Army. Early in 1698 it successfully reduced the Army to 10,000. Later in the year a new Parliament, in which the Tories had a majority, vented its spleen on "the little Dutchman" by insisting that William's Dutch guards should be sent home—thus reducing the Army to 7000—and by ordering an inquiry into William's gifts of confiscated lands in Ireland. Finding that a large portion of these lands had been given to favourites of Dutch extraction, Parliament in 1700 cancelled all grants by a *Resumption Act*.

§ 297. **The Darien Scheme, 1698-1700.**—Meanwhile William

had raised a storm in Scotland also by his supposed opposition to the Darien Scheme. William Paterson, the Scots promoter of the Bank of England, had floated an African Company intended to give Scotsmen opportunities for trading with Africa and the East Indies. The Scheme included the formation of a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien or Panama ; but owing partly to the unhealthiness of the climate, partly to the opposition of Spain, the "New Caledonia" was an utter failure. The loss of lives and money was a great blow to a poor country like Scotland, and the failure was ascribed to the King.

§ 298. **The Partition Treaties, 1698-1700** — Louis XIV had partly accepted defeat on the question of the English Succession in order to have his hands free for the more pressing and profitable question of the Spanish Succession (Tables pp 45, 186). Charles II. of Spain was the last male descendant through males of the Spanish branch of the House of Hapsburg (§ 131), and throughout his reign (1665-1700) there was anxiety among statesmen as to what was to become of his vast possessions all over the world when his sickly life gave out. His nearest blood-connections were his cousins of the Austrian Hapsburg and of the French Bourbon lines ; but considerations of the Balance of Power made diplomatists unwilling to regard the succession merely on the basis of family arrangements. Accordingly various schemes of partition among the different claimants were devised, in the last of which England was actively concerned. In October 1698 the two Protestant Sea-Powers, England and the United Netherlands, came to terms with France, in the *First Partition Treaty*, whereby most of the Spanish dominions were assigned to the least formidable of the three claimants, Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria. He died in the following year, and in March 1700 a *Second Partition Treaty* allotted the greater part of the plunder to the Archduke Charles of Austria, and the lesser part—including Naples, Sicily, and the Milanese—to the Dauphin. But when Charles II. died in the following November, leaving the whole of his possessions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, younger son of the Dauphin, Louis XIV threw over the treaty and accepted the will. The Hapsburg protested, but he could do nothing effective without the help of England ; and in April 1701 William was constrained by Parliament to recognize the Bourbon claimant.

§ 299 **Act of Settlement, June 1701.**—The death of William Duke of Gloucester in July 1700 interested Englishmen more than the death of Charles II of Spain. He was the last of the numerous but short-lived children of Queen Mary's sister Anne, and his death

left the English succession open after the death of William III. and his sister-in-law. Accordingly in June 1701 Parliament made further provision for the royal succession—setting aside the descendants of James II. and of his sister Henrietta—who were excluded as “Papists” under the *Bill of Rights*—the *Act of Settlement* settled the crown, after Anne’s death, on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, as the next Protestant heir (Table, p. xx). In return for regulating the royal succession in accordance with Whig ideas, the Tories were allowed to insert in the Act a number of constitutional provisions—some of them repealed as impracticable before they came into effect—which were designed to prevent the House of Hanover from adopting various practices that helped to make William III. additionally objectionable in Tory eyes—

- (1) Whoever shall come into possession of the English crown shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established.
- (2) This nation shall not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of Parliament
- (3) The Sovereign shall not go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the consent of Parliament
- (4) All matters relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same
- (5) No person born out of the three kingdoms, although he be naturalized, shall be “capable to be of the Privy Council,” or a member of either House, or to enjoy any office or place of trust.
- (6) No person who has an office or place of profit under the King shall be capable of serving as a member of the Commons
- (7) Judges’ commissions shall be made *quoadvis se bene gesserint*, and their salaries shall be ascertained and established; but upon the address of both Houses it may be lawful to remove them
- (8) No pardon under the Great Seal shall be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons

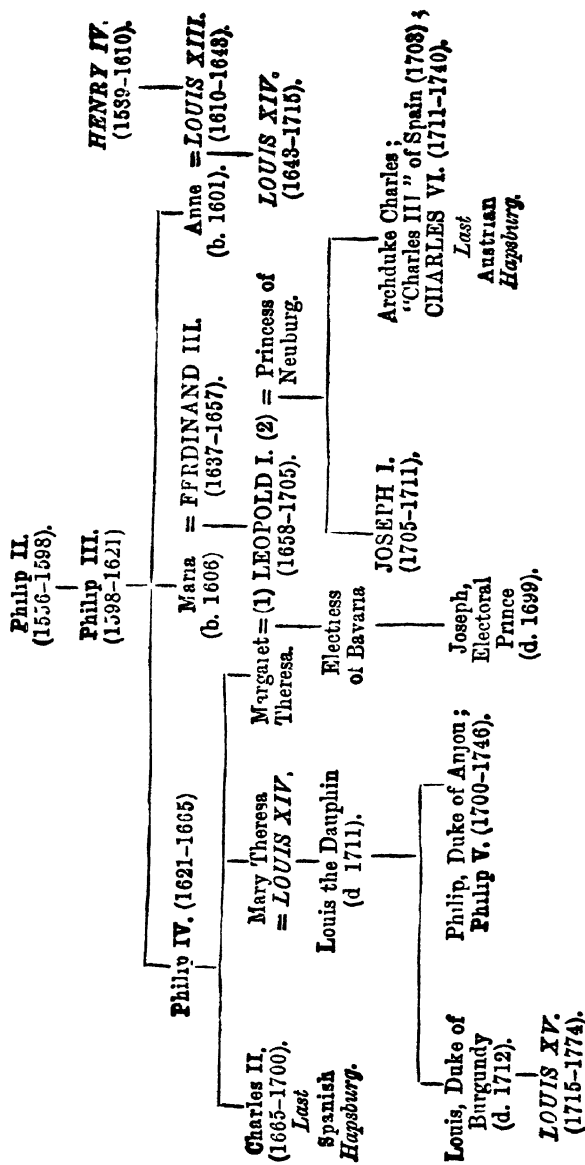
§ 300. **Death of James II., September 1701.**—The House of Commons which thus obliquely censured William’s conduct by inserting these safeguards into the *Act of Settlement*, and which compelled him to acknowledge the new Bourbon King of Spain, also attacked him more directly by impeaching three members of the Junto—Somers, Halifax (Montague), and Russell (now Earl of Orford)—and his especial friend William Bentinck, Duke of Portland. Their main fault was their connivance in the *Partition Treaties*. The im-

peachment fell through, and the continued attacks on the King were already causing disgust among moderate men, when Louis XIV. accelerated the turn of the tide in William's favour by acknowledging James Edward Stuart, "the Old Pretender," as King of England on his father's death in September 1701.

§ 301. **Death of William III., March 1702.**—Louis XIV.'s act of generous impolicy practically drove Englishmen to accept as their king either a foreigner selected by their own Parliament, or a native Stuart imposed on them by a foreign potentate. That very insular feeling which Daniel Defoe had laughed to scorn in his *True-born Englishman* (1701) rallied the nation round William III. He built up a Grand Alliance to support the Hapsburg claimant against the Bourbon possessor of the Spanish throne; and he found his new Parliament sufficiently in his favour to carry bills attainting "the pretended King" and compelling all officers in Church and State, and all members of the Universities, to abjure the Stuart cause (§ 279). In the height of his triumph, and before open hostilities commenced, William broke his collar-bone, and died on March 8, 1702.

§ 302. **The East India Company, 1600-1698.**—The close of the seventeenth century witnessed many notable extensions in the English outlook upon the world outside Europe. In 1699 William Dampier was sent out by the Government to explore the unknown regions of New Holland or Australia. Foreign and Colonial missionary work within the Church of England was inaugurated by the foundation of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" in 1698, and of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" three years later. The name Fort William (Calcutta) reminds us that it was in the reign of William III. that the East India Company obtained a permanent foothold in Bengal. The Company, since its foundation in 1600, had removed its principal field of operations from the Spice Islands to India, and had there established many trading stations or "factories." Its success roused much jealousy and many attempts to break its monopoly, and in 1698 Montague took advantage of these commercial jealousies to allow a group of Whig capitalists, in return for a loan to Government, to found a new "English" Company in opposition to the Tory "London" Company. But the old concern had too strong a grip on the trade to allow successful competition by the new company: the two companies made a pooling agreement in 1702, and amalgamated in 1708. It was this united company which, half a century later, began to acquire the "Empire of Indostan" (§§ 366-369).

Pedigree Illustrating the Spanish Succession.



NOTE.—The double dates within parentheses give the periods during which a title is held; the Emperors are in ROMAN CAPITALS; the French Sovereigns in ITALIC CAPITALS; the Spanish Sovereigns in dark type.

CHAPTER XVI.

QUEEN ANNE, 1702-1714.

A PERSONAL HISTORY—Younger daughter of James II, by his first wife, Anne Hyde, born at St James's Palace, February 5, 1664, in 1683, after being sought in marriage by George Lewis, of Hanover (her successor), married George (1653-1708), second son of Frederick III, King of Denmark, of her seventeen children all died young except William, Duke of Gloucester, who died July 30, 1700 (aged eleven), under the terms of the *Bill of Rights*, 1689, and *Act of Settlement*, 1701, succeeded her brother-in-law, William III, as Queen of England, etc, March 8, 1702, became Queen of Great Britain, May 1, 1707, died at Kensington, August 1, 1714, buried in Westminster Abbey. For family connections see Table, p. xx

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	PRUSSIA	FRANCE	SPAIN	SWEDEN	RUSSIA.
Clement XI (1700-1721)	Leopold I (1658) Joseph I (1705) Charles VI (1711)	Frederick I <i>Brandenburg</i> (1688-1713) <i>first King of Prussia</i> , 1701	Louis XIV (1643-1715)	Philip V (1700-1746) Rival Claimant (Hapsburg) Archduke Charles	Charles XII (1697-1718)	Peter the Great (1689-1725)

C TOPICS OF THE REIGN

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(i) International: relations with—</p> <p>(1) France §§ 303, 305-308, 311-316, 320</p> <p>(2) Spain §§ 303, 305-308, 311, 315, 316, 320</p> <p>(3) Portugal § 306.</p> <p>(4) Savoy § 305</p> <p>(5) Netherlands §§ 303, 305-308, 312, 315, 316</p> <p>(6) Empire §§ 303, 317, 319.</p> <p>(7) Sweden § 311</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional.</p> <p>(1) Ministers §§ 304, 314, 318</p> <p>(2) Parliament §§ 309, 310, 319, 322</p> <p>(3) Succession §§ 312, 322.</p> <p>(4) Church §§ 317, 318, 321</p> <p>(5) Scotland §§ 309, 310, 321</p> <p>(6) Ireland § 309</p> <p>(7) Colonies: § 309</p> |
|---|---|

I. MARLBOROUGH'S EARLY TRIUMPHS, 1702-1706.

§ 303. **Motives in the War of the Spanish Succession.**—Queen Anne and her friends, the Churchills (Lord and Lady Marlborough) had frequently been on bad terms with the late King; but

towards the close of his reign they became reconciled to him, and they now took up his policy of war against the Bourbons. War was formally declared in May 1702, and it lasted for eleven years (§ 320). This struggle had many other motives besides that expressed in its general name—the “War of the Spanish Succession”: and some of these were commercial rather than dynastic (§§ 298, 301). England was mainly interested in upholding the Protestant Succession, and in preventing France from excluding Englishmen from all hopes of participation in the trade of Spanish America. Her principal ally was the United Netherlands, which had now become so closely connected with England that diplomatists habitually spoke of them together as “the Sea Powers” (cf. §§ 200, 226, 232). The United Provinces were chiefly alarmed lest France should acquire such a hold over the Spanish Netherlands as to be able to threaten Dutch independence. Other Powers on the Continent were in various ways anxious lest the close dynastic connection between France and Spain should affect them harmfully. they therefore allied against Louis XIV, nominally maintaining the cause of the Archduke Charles against that of “Philip of Anjou,” but really each intent on his several interests. England took part in the campaigns in the Netherlands, in Spain and on the sea, but there were other areas of war than these *

§ 304. Marlborough-Godolphin Administration, 1702-1710.—Louis XIV. had sole control of his affairs, while his enemies were divided in locality, in interests, and in leadership. The one thing which for many years kept the jealous Allies working together towards a common object, and with a fair measure of success, was the military and diplomatic genius of Marlborough. Like William III., Marlborough had many qualities which do not commend themselves to the eye of the moralist, but he also possessed that rare power of devising sound plans and carrying them into execution which makes the great statesman. While he was busy abroad, his position was maintained at home by the influence which his wife, the “Queen’s Favourite” of dramatic fiction, had over the sovereign—they were so familiar that in their correspondence the Queen was “Mrs. Morley,” and the Duchess “Mrs. Freeman”—and by the influence in Parliament of Godolphin, a friend and marriage-connection of Marlborough, who held the position of Lord Treasurer.

* There is a detailed synoptic view of the chief events of the War in the *Intermediate Text-Book of English History*, vol III, pp 294, 295.

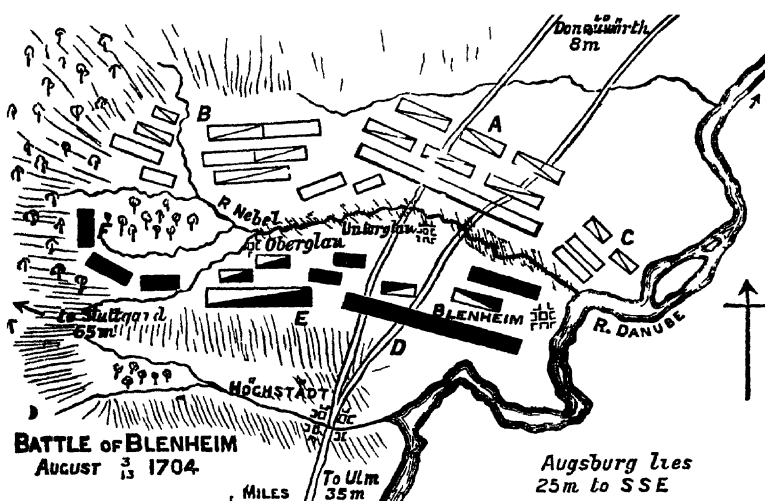
At first, the Marlborough-Godolphin Administration consisted of members of both parties, but in the years 1703-4, the High Tories Rochester and Nottingham gave place to the more moderate Tories, Robert Harley and Henry St. John; and a few years later, the Tories were wholly eliminated, leaving in power, as for a brief period in William III's reign (§ 291), a group of ministers belonging to one party only (§ 314)

§ 305. **The War in 1702-1703.**—The weakness of the Allies was clearly exhibited in the first two years of the War. In 1702 Admiral Benbow was defeated in the West Indies, and defeat was the common lot of most of the opponents of France. Marlborough, however, conducted two successful campaigns in the Southern Netherlands, obtaining a hold of the country as far as Bonn in order to keep in touch with the German princes who were ranged against Louis XIV. But these military reverses were more than counter-balanced by two diplomatic successes in the adhesion of Portugal and Savoy to the Grand Alliance. The Duke of Savoy was afraid that if Bourbons were established in Milan as well as in France, his existence as independent prince would not long survive.

§ 306 **The Methuen Treaty, 1703**—Portugal was persuaded to join the Alliance partly through her traditional jealousy of Spain, partly through commercial considerations. The Anglo-Portuguese treaty, negotiated by Methuen in May 1703, admitted Portuguese wines into England, and English woollens into Portugal at lower rates than the similar products of any other country. This treaty put on a firm basis the long-standing amity between the sinking and the rising Sea-Power (cf § 224), and had an important influence on the course of history. It also had a curious effect on British social customs by practically substituting port for claret as the foreign wine most largely drunk by the well-to-do classes


§ 307. **Blenheim and Gibraltar, 1704.**—Encouraged by two years' success, Louis XIV resolved in 1704 to strike at the heart of his rival, by sending a French army through the territories of his ally, the Elector of Bavaria, against the Emperor's capital of Vienna. Marlborough resolved to prevent this scheme, and, despite Dutch opposition and the obstacles interposed by nature, he finally succeeded. Marching *via* Mainz and the Neckar Valley, he brought the Franco-Bavarian army under Marshal Tallard to bay at Blenheim on the Danube, and there, early in August, won an overwhelming victory (August 3). The battle of Blenheim not only defeated the French schemes and compelled Louis to withdraw his forces to his

own side of the Rhine, but also proved that French armies were not, as people were beginning to fancy, almost invincible. Hardly less important, from a national point of view, though it attracted less attention at the time, was Rooke's capture of Gibraltar ten days before the battle of Blenheim. This acquisition—which has since been retained, despite Spanish onslaughts—was not the outcome of deliberate operations but an incident in the course of a series of naval raids on the Spanish coasts.



Army of the Allies 52,000.
[Losses, 11,000]

Franco-Bavarian Army, 60,000.
[Losses, 40,000, including 14,000 prisoners]

HORSE, , FOOT,

FOOT, , HORSE, |

A = Marlborough

D = Tallard

B = Eugene

E = Mairin

C = Cutts

F = Elector of Bavaria.

NOTE.—The distances marked are an line distances from Blenheim

§ 308. Campaigns of 1705–1706.—In 1705 the principal theatre of war was Spain. Leake defeated French fleets in Mediterranean waters and took part in the capture of Barcelona by Charles Mordaunt, the brilliant but erratic Earl of Peterborough. The people of the district round Barcelona—Catalans and Aragonese—were likely to give active support to the claims of the Archduke Charles against the Bourbon occupant of the Spanish throne, favoured by

the people of Castile. In the following year Peterborough marched inland from Barcelona and temporarily occupied Madrid, where he proclaimed "Charles III." King of Spain. About the same time, Marlborough, having defeated Villeroy in a pitched battle at Ramillies in Brabant, occupied Brussels and made a similar proclamation. In the same year two Spanish capitals in Italy, Naples and Milan, fell into the hands of the Hapsburg claimant. "Charles III," thus placed actually in possession of the four Spanish capitals in Europe, seemed to have such rosy prospects of success that Louis XIV. opened negotiations on the basis of recognizing Charles as King over all the Spanish dominions except Naples and the Milanese. Owing mainly to the influence of the Emperor and of Marlborough, the Allies rejected these terms and prolonged the war—only with the result of gaining less in the end.

II THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH UNION, 1707.

§ 309 **Causes of the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1706.**—The year 1706 was thus the year of Marlborough's greatest triumph: the following year witnessed the greatest achievement of his friend and fellow-worker, Godolphin. The latter event was almost as closely connected with the war as the former. The war was largely due to a desire felt by the merchants of England to develop trade with Spanish America: the union project came within the sphere of practical politics largely through the failure of similar designs on the part of Scottish merchants (§ 297). Irritation over the Darien fiasco made the Lowlanders, the only section of Scotsmen who were hearty supporters of the Protestant Succession, resolve to obtain either complete commercial equality with Englishmen or release from an unequal partnership. On the other hand, English merchants cherished their trade privileges, and English Tories looked askance on any further recognition of Scottish presbyterianism in church-government. In 1702 an attempt inaugurated by William III. to arrange a compromise broke down, and in the following year the Scottish Estates enacted that Scotland was not to be involved without their consent in any war begun by England. In 1704 Anne was compelled to assent to an *Act of Security* which empowered the Scots Estates to appoint a successor to herself different from the person arranged for England and Ireland in the *Act of Settlement*, 1701 (§ 299). The English Parliament retorted with an *Alien Act* declaring Scotsmen to be aliens, prohibiting imports from Scotland, and providing for the repair of the Border fortresses. The danger

of war between two kingdoms whose common interests far outweighed points of difference made moderate men on both sides strenuous in pressing forward an accommodation. In 1706, under the guidance of Godolphin and Somers, a body of English and Scottish commissioners quickly arranged terms, which were accepted by both Parliaments

§ 310. *Terms of the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1707.*—The *Act of Union*, which came into force on May 1, 1707, merged the old kingdoms of England and Scotland into one new kingdom, while it preserved their identity in certain respects—notably in the spheres of Church, Law, and Education. The “personal union” begun in 1603 was replaced by a closer but still far from complete union. It was, for instance, less complete than the unions attempted by Edward I. and Oliver Cromwell (§§ 17, 204); but it had the merit, which all previous attempts had lacked, of being made voluntarily and on equal terms on both sides, not under the compulsion of the southern kingdom. The following were the chief provisions of the *Act of Union*:—

- (1) *Kingdoms* the two kingdoms of Scotland and England are to be united into one kingdom, entitled “The United Kingdom of Great Britain”
- (2) *Parliaments* the two parliaments are to be amalgamated into a British Parliament in which England is to be represented as before, while Scotland is to be represented by forty-five members in the Commons and sixteen peers in the Lords, elected for each Parliament
- (3) *Churches* each ex-kingdom is to retain its established church—episcopalian in England, presbyterian in Scotland
- (4) *Law* each ex-kingdom retains its own system of law and law-courts—subject to modification by the United Parliament, and with appeal from the highest local courts to the British House of Lords
- (5) *Trade* Englishmen and Scotsmen are placed on the same footing as regards trade with one another and with the outside world, as regulated in English *Navigation Acts*, etc., and the weights, measures, and coinage of the two countries are assimilated to the English model
- (6) *Finance* England pays off the Scottish National Debt and indemnifies the shareholders in the Darien Company, Scotland takes her share of the future financial burdens of the United Kingdom

III THE WHIGS AND THE WAR, 1707-1710

§ 311. *Almanza, 1707*—During the year of the Anglo-Scottish Union, the main theatre of war was Eastern Spain. There the Allies speedily lost the ground which they had won in 1706 (§ 308). “Charles III.’s” troops were expelled from Madrid after less than a month’s occupation (cf § 316), and in April 1707 they were

badly beaten at Almanza by James, Duke of Berwick, an illegitimate son of James II. by Marlborough's sister Arabella. The battle of Almanza was roughly balanced by a diplomatic success earned by Marlborough. He persuaded Charles XII., the adventurous king of Sweden, not to join in the War of the Spanish Succession—probably on the side of France, the old ally of Sweden—but to continue his struggles against Poland and his arch-enemy, Peter the Great. His Russian enterprise ended in his defeat at Pultowa, 1709, which practically marked the end of Sweden as a Great Power.

§ 312 **Battle of Oudenarde, 1708**—In 1708 fortune swung round again to the side of the Allies both in Italy and in the regions which directly concerned Great Britain. Early in the year Byng drove back a French fleet which was escorting the Chevalier de St. George—"James III."—to Scotland in the hopes of rallying round the Stuarts all who were discontented with the Union. The Chevalier himself reached the Forth but deemed it prudent not to land. In July, Marlborough and his no less brilliant colleague, Prince Eugene of Savoy, won a great victory at Oudenarde, which resulted in the recovery of the Southern Netherlands (partly lost during the previous year) and enabled them in the autumn to take the offensive by the capture of the French fortress of Lille.

§ 313. **Capture of Minorca, 1708.**—In the Mediterranean, a joint British force under General Stanhope and Admiral Leake took possession of Sardinia and Minorca—the latter being then generally esteemed a more suitable place for a naval station than Gibraltar. These events led to a renewal of overtures for peace by Louis XIV. in the spring of 1709 and to their rejection by the Allies. The latter insisted that Louis should himself help in expelling his grandson from the throne of Spain. Louis refused, and appealed to his subjects for the help which he was wont to take as a matter of course. Appeal to national feeling now, as a hundred years later (§ 462), turned the scale in a great war.

§ 314. **Whig Administration, 1708-1710.**—Despite Marlborough's victories, his countrymen were beginning to lose their interest in the war and their belief in the necessity of its continuance: even the recognition of Philip V. as King in Spain would not make the united Bourbons as strong as Louis XIV. by himself had been before the war. The growth of the feeling that Marlborough's "family party"—including himself, Godolphin, and Sunderland—were prolonging a useless struggle simply for the sake of their own interests was clearly shown by the ministerial changes

of 1708 The moderate Tories, Harley and St. John, resigned their posts, and were replaced by Whigs such as Somers, Wharton, and Walpole Godolphin made these changes reluctantly. Like William III, he preferred to follow the old plan of having the best men as ministers, disregarding differences in personal opinion. But party distinctions were now becoming so sharply defined in both home and foreign politics, that Whigs and Tories would not work smoothly together. Hence Godolphin was compelled for a brief period to have recourse to William III's expedient of an administration drawn entirely from the ranks of one party, and that the party which really believed not only in the expediency but also in the rightfulness of the Protestant Succession.

§ 315. **Malplaquet, 1709.**—The great efforts made by Louis XIV had immediate effects on the course of the war in 1709 In the Netherlands, Marlborough and Eugene could do nothing except capture fortresses such as Tournay and Mons in the pitched battle which they fought at Malplaquet in September, they contrived to defeat Villars, the best of the French generals, but their losses were twice those of the enemy. The days of overwhelming victories for the Allies were over. Meanwhile, in Spain, Galway had been defeated at La Gudina in an attempt to invade Spain from the Portuguese base

§ 316 **Gertruydenburg and Brihuega, 1710.**—Nevertheless the Allies refused the favourable terms again offered by Louis XIV. in the Conference held at Gertruydenburg in the spring of 1710. He now expressed his willingness to subsidize the Allies while they were engaged in expelling Philip V from Spain, but, as before, he refused to bear arms himself against his grandson In the following year Marlborough took Douay, and "Charles III." forced his way into Madrid. On his way up his troops under Stanhope and Staremberg won joint victories at Almenara and Zaragoza on their retreat—for Madrid has always been quite untenable by an enemy lacking the support of the population—they were severally defeated at Brihuega and Villa Viciosa in December 1710

§ 317. **Queen Anne and the "High Church" Party.**—The decisive event in the war, from a British point of view, took place in 1710: the corresponding event, from an international point of view, took place in the following year (§ 319). The British event was the overthrow of the Whigs by a group of Tories who had quite different views about the war from those of their opponents. Harley had contrived to place his relative Mrs. Masham near the

Queen, and had thus gradually weaned Anne from the predominance of the Duchess of Marlborough. Harley's cue was to work on Queen Anne's religious sentiments and prejudices. She was an Anglican of what was just beginning to be called the "High Church" school; and it was therefore not difficult to persuade her that the Whigs, being patrons of Dissenters, were enemies of true religion.

§ 318 **Sacheverell and the Whig Collapse, 1710.**—Towards the end of 1709, Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached some official sermons inveighing against the Glorious Revolution and the Protestant Succession as sins against God and His Anointed. The Whigs thought him worthy of the distinction of impeachment (February, March, 1710). The Lords suspended him for three years. Anne compensated him by giving him preferment. Sacheverell became almost as much of a popular hero as the Seven Bishops of 1688, and in August 1710 Anne, taking courage from her popularity as an admirer of Dr Sacheverell, dismissed the Whig ministers from her service. Harley (soon afterwards created Earl of Oxford) became Chancellor of the Exchequer and the principal member of a purely Tory Administration, which included St. John as Secretary of State, as well as Rochester and Ormonde.

IV THE TORIES AND THE PEACE, 1710-1714.

§ 319. **Charles VI and the Balance of Power, 1711.**—The Tories had their own reasons for wishing to bring the war to a close, and before they had been in office for a year an event occurred which completely changed the international situation. In April 1711 the Emperor Joseph II died; and his successor, both in the family estates and in the elective dignity of Emperor, was his brother the Archduke Charles. It was obviously absurd that the Allies should continue a war nominally undertaken to preserve the Balance of Power simply in order to restore the double-monarchy of Charles V. (§§ 56, 57) Better to leave Spain with a Bourbon who was otherwise a nobody, and who by the recent birth of an heir to his elder brother was removed a step farther from the French crown than he had formally renounced, than with a Hapsburg who held the throne of Caesar and the power of an Austrian archduke. The British Ministry thus had good reasons of State, as well as strong party reasons, for seeking to stop the war; and the publication of Swift's pamphlet, *The Conduct of the Allies*, six months after the death of the Emperor, greatly increased the popularity of a peace

policy. They opened negotiations with France, and at the end of the year got rid of one of the chief obstacles in the way of peace by persuading the Queen to dismiss Marlborough from all his offices.

§ 320. **The Peace of Utrecht, 1713-1715.**—Marlborough's successor, the Duke of Ormonde, was instructed to withdraw from active prosecution of the war in the Netherlands, and these instructions were given and obeyed in such a sense that Queen Anne's Government can hardly be exonerated from the charge of treachery towards its allies. In 1712 negotiations went on both secretly at Paris between the envoys of France and Great Britain, and openly at a general congress held at Utrecht in the United Netherlands. The result was the conclusion of a number of treaties, mostly arranged at Utrecht, among the different parties to the war except Philip V. and the Emperor; and in order to obtain the consent of Parliament to those treaties which concerned Great Britain, Queen Anne created twelve Tory peers to outvote the previous Whig majority in the House of Lords. The principal provisions of the British Utrecht treaties with France and Spain fall naturally under four main headings.

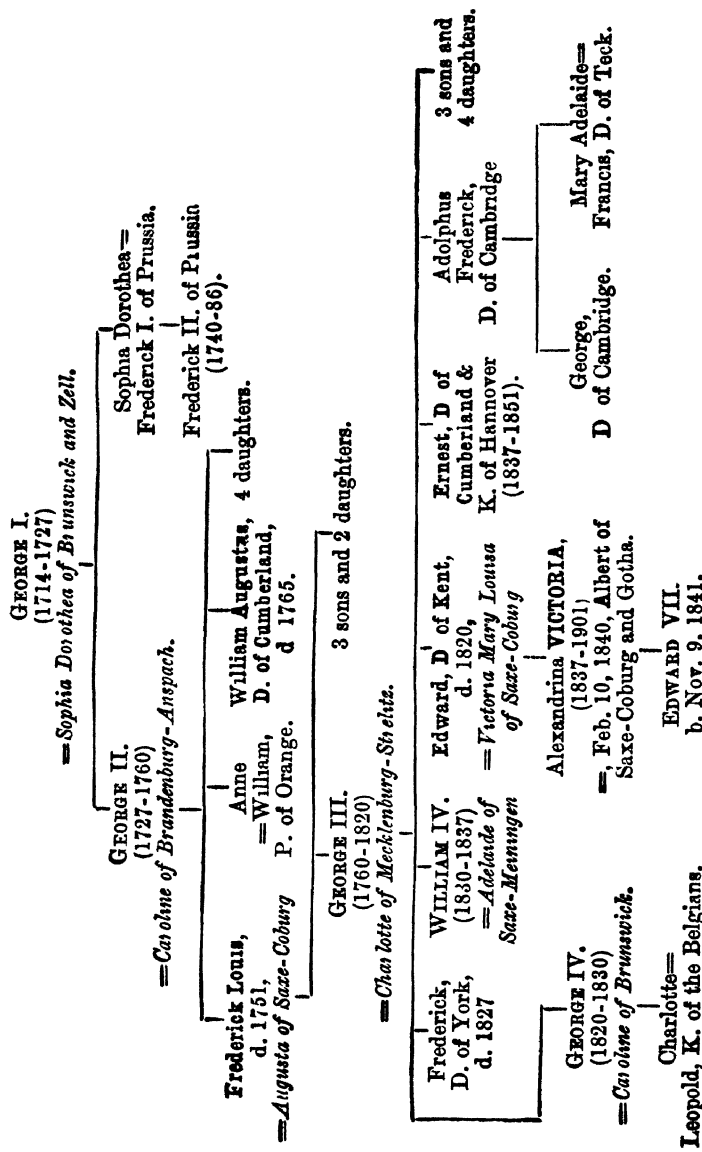
- (i) *Dynastic*. Great Britain recognizes Philip V as King of Spain on condition that (a) the Bourbons recognize in turn the Protestant Succession in the United Kingdom, that (b) the French and the Spanish crowns are never to be united, and that (c) Louis XIV. assents to the transference of the outlying Spanish possessions in Europe to his rivals—the Netherlands, Milan, Naples and Sardinia to the Emperor Charles VI, and Sicily (afterwards exchanged for Sardinia) to the Duke of Savoy.
- (ii) *Territorial*. France abandons, in favour of Great Britain, her former claims to Acadie (Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and Rupertsland (Hudson's Bay Territory), Spain formally cedes to Great Britain her conquests of Gibraltar and Minorca.
- (iii) *Commercial*. Spain transfers to Great Britain certain trading privileges with Spanish America that she had formerly assigned to France viz (a) the *Asiento*—i.e. permission to import 4800 negroes into America during the following thirty years, (b) the right of sending one small ship annually to Porto-Bello, the chief Spanish emporium on the Isthmus of Panama (§ 332).

§ 321. **Church Questions, 1704-1714**—The British authors of the *Peace of Utrecht* were Tories who differed from their Whig opponents not only on the war but also on questions of the Church and of the Royal Succession. In 1704 the Queen had shown her disinterested affection for the Church of England by forming the

first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices into the nucleus of a fund for the augmentation of small livings—a fund ever since known as “Queen Anne’s Bounty”; and the excitement over the trial of Dr. Sacheverell in 1710 had shown that the Anglican clergy were no less in favour with the English people. The Tories were acting in strict accordance with their principles in following this tendency in their legislative measures. The *Occasional Conformity Act*, 1711, and the *Schism Act*, 1714—both aimed at the Protestant Nonconformists, the chief supporters of the Whigs—respectively punished those who took the Sacrament according to Anglican rites simply in order to obtain municipal office (§ 223) and forbade any but Anglicans to keep school. These Acts remained in force for only a short time; but a *Scottish Patronage Act*—passed in 1712 to assimilate the method of appointing parish ministers in Scotland to that which prevailed in England—had lasting effects in increasing the divisions in the Scottish Church.

§ 322. **The Succession Question, 1710–1714.**—Closely connected with this ecclesiastical legislation were certain secular measures designed to maintain the Tories in control of public affairs. The *Property Qualification Act*, 1711, was designed to secure the predominance of the landed interest in the House of Commons against the newer commercial interest by disqualifying persons who did not possess a considerable amount of landed property from becoming members of Parliament, and the *Newspaper Stamp Act*, 1712, was framed to check the influence of outside criticism on Parliament and Government by imposing a stamp-duty on all periodical publications such as newspapers (cf. § 292). But it was useless for the Tories to obtain control over Parliament and the expression of public opinion, unless they could also control the Kingship and the ill-health of the Queen made the Tories anxious as to their fate under her successor. Here they were divided between their Protestant and their Legitimist sympathies: Oxford was inclined to favour the Hanoverian Succession laid down by Act of Parliament in 1701 and 1707, while St John (now Viscount Bolingbroke) seems to have been driven by necessity towards adopting the Jacobite cause. In July 1714, Bolingbroke ousted his rival from office because he had opposed the *Schism Act*; but before he could take any decisive measures to secure his position the death of Queen Anne ruined his career, at least for a time (§ 341).

The House of Brunswick or Hannover.



NOTE.—The years within brackets give regnal years; important names in dark type; English Sovereigns in capitals.

CHAPTER XVII.

GEORGE I., 1714-1727.

A PERSONAL HISTORY—Eldest son of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick Luneburg and first Elector of Hanover, by his wife Sophia, granddaughter of James I of England, born at Hanover, May 28, 1660, in 1682 married his cousin Sophia Dorothea of Zell (whom in 1694 he imprisoned at Ahlden till her death, November 13, 1726), succeeded his father as Elector of Hanover, 1698; in accordance with the *Act of Settlement*, 1701, and the *Act of Union*, 1707, became King of Great Britain, etc., on the death of Queen Anne, August 1, 1714 (his mother Sophia having died, May 28, 1714), died at Osnabruck, June 11, 1727, buried at Hanover For descent from James I see Table, p xx, for descendants, see Table, p 198

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	PRUSSIA	FRANCE	SPAIN	SWEDEN	RUSSIA
Clement XI (1700) Innocent XIII (1721) Benedict XIII (1724-1730)	Charles VI (1711)	Frederick I (1701) Frederick William I (1713-1740)	Louis XIV (1643) Louis XV (1715-1774)	Philip V (1700-1746) Louis I (1724-5)	Charles XII (1697) Frederick I (1718-1751)	Peter the Gt (1689) Katharine I (1725-1727)

C TOPICS OF THE REIGN

(i) **International: relations with—**

- (1) France §§ 325, 323, 336
- (2) Spain §§ 328, 330, 332, 336
- (3) Austria §§ 330, 336
- (4) Prussia § 333
- (5) Sweden §§ 327, 328, 330

(ii) **Constitutional.**

- (1) Ministers §§ 323, 324, 329, 333
- (2) Parliament §§ 324, 326, 331,
332, 334, 335
- (3) Church §§ 331, 335
- (4) Scotland §§ 325, 330.
- (5) Ireland § 335

I. THE STUART AND THE GUELF, 1714-1716.

§ 323. **Accession of George I., 1714.**—Despite the deep divisions in public opinion regarding the Succession, there was no difficulty in placing, and little difficulty in keeping George Augustus on the thrones vacated by Queen Anne At the crisis of the quarrel

between Oxford and Bolingbroke, the two Tory leaders, a group of Whig peers, headed by Argyll and Shrewsbury, contrived to seize the reins of power; and their party, despite their quarrels, did not let them go for nearly half a century. Until the arrival of the new King, affairs were administered by twenty-one Lords Justices, nominated beforehand by the Elector under powers conferred in a *Regency Act* of 1705; and when he arrived he rewarded the Whigs for their support by choosing his Ministers entirely from their ranks. Montague, Earl of Halifax, was for a few months First Lord of the Treasury; but the Secretaries of State, Charles, Viscount Townshend, and James Stanhope, the conqueror of Minorca, were the most important members. Room was also found in the Ministry for Sunderland and Walpole, Marlborough became Captain-General, Somers was too old to hold office again long.

§ 324. **The Riot Act, April 1715.**—George I.'s first British Parliament met early in 1715 and showed itself strongly Whig. The Ministers naturally followed their Tory predecessors in turning their parliamentary majority to their own advantage. They impeached the chief among the late Ministers for various crimes and misdemeanours—especially in connection with their peace negotiations and with their alleged attempt “to bring in the Pretender” This was the last occasion on which the method of impeachment was adopted by a party in power as a means of taking vengeance on political adversaries. Bolingbroke and Ormonde deemed it prudent to leave the country and were attainted in their absence. Oxford remained to face impeachment and after long proceedings was ultimately acquitted. Thus abandoned by their leaders, the disappointed Jacobites were unable to organize a great rising and broke out into the petty local movements which occasioned the *Riot Act*. By this Act it was made felony for the members of a crowd to disobey for more than one hour the orders of a magistrate to disperse.

§ 325. **The Fifteen, September-November, 1715.**—A well-organized Jacobite rising immediately after the death of Queen Anne, and while there was a fair prospect of help from France, would have had considerable chances of success. But the rising did not begin until George had been nearly a year in England and until its most promising patron, Louis XIV, was dead, and besides being ill-timed it was also badly bungled. Ormonde landed in Devonshire, but at once gave up the enterprise; and the only serious movements took place in the North. Early in September the Earl of Mar—

known from his many political changes as "Bobbing John"—set up the Stuart standard in Braemar. Most of the Scottish peers were prepared to support him if he showed promise of success; and nearly all the Highland clans actually did rally round him. He did nothing with the force at his disposal; but he sent a detachment under M'Intosh to help the movement further south, headed by Lords Nithsdale and Kenmuir in the Lowlands and by Forster and Lord Derwentwater in Northumberland. This united army marched southwards, and on November 13 surrendered at Preston. On the same day Mar fought an indecisive battle with Argyll at Sheriffmuir near Perth. In the following month "James III." himself arrived at Peterhead, but his presence was embarrassing rather than inspiring, and he soon returned to France. The whole affair was such a miserable failure that the Whigs could afford to treat it with contempt. They executed about a score of the prisoners, and took precautions against future attempts by partially disarming the Highlanders, and by building a few military forts and making roads in the Highlands (§§ 352-354).

§ 326. The Septennial Act, May 1716.—The chief result of the Fifteen was the passing of the *Septennial Act*. The elections for the new Parliament would, according to the *Triennial Act* (§ 289), have fallen in the spring of 1718. The Government were of opinion that the nation was too excited, and Jacobite hopes still too strong, to make it safe for the Hanoverian succession that the election should take place so early. They therefore passed a Bill prolonging the possible legal existence of the present and all future Parliaments from a period of three to a period of seven years. Parliament thus set at nought the time conditions under which it had been brought together; but this was done in a perfectly legal way to meet exceptional dangers and it has not been regarded as a precedent. The chief importance of the Act was not its unusual character but its permanent effect in securing the stability of parliamentary institutions. At a time when Parliament was becoming less and less representative of the nation, when elections were conducted by open voting, not by ballot, and were spread over a long period, it was a distinct gain for the country to be spared the horrors of frequent General Elections. Parliament was henceforth legally entitled to a duration of seven years, and as a matter of fact, few parliaments in the eighteenth century lasted less than six years. This increased longevity of Parliament made it easier for the great landowners to control the House of Commons.

§ 327. International Results of the Hanoverian Succession.—The accession to the British thrones of the Elector of Hanover had important effects on British international policy. The new King was a German who knew no English, and who naturally took much more interest in the affairs of his native country than in those of his insular kingdoms. The framers of the *Act of Settlement* had tried in vain to prevent any evil consequences flowing from this preoccupation, and during the reigns of the first two Hanoverian Kings British politicians were continually jealous lest the island kingdoms should be sacrificed to the continental electorate. An illustration of this occurred at the very outset of the Personal Union. The King of Denmark sold the territories (not the cities) of Bremen and Verden, which he had conquered from Sweden, to the Elector of Hanover, Charles XII. of Sweden was naturally angry with the Elector, and attempted to strike at him not only in his electoral but also in his royal capacity. And on the other hand, George I sent a British fleet into the Baltic in order to help the Grand Alliance against Charles XII., and thus led to loud outcries in England that the country was being embroiled in a Northern War which did not concern Great Britain, "all on account of Hanover." George I's lavish gifts to his German favourites gave colour to this complaint, but in point of fact Great Britain had large commercial interests in the Baltic which justified her intervention, quite apart from her dynastic connection with Hanover.

§ 328. The Triple Alliance, 1717.—The Swedish imbroglio was only part of a diplomatic tangle which cannot be fully understood without a considerable knowledge of European History. So far as Great Britain was concerned, the main facts were these: she was interested in maintaining the *Peace of Utrecht*, especially the recognition of the Protestant Succession; her ally, the United Provinces, was similarly interested; and so too—for family reasons which held good only because Louis XV. was still a minor without issue (§ 338)—was the Regent Orleans in France. On the other hand, Charles VI. and Philip V. were dissatisfied with the partition of the Spanish dominions; and the latter, under the influence of his Italian wife, Elizabeth Farnese, was determined to recover the Spanish possessions in Italy from the intrusive Hapsburg. Hence the Powers dissatisfied with Great Britain—Spain, under the minister Alberoni, and Sweden, under Charles XII. and his minister Gortz—began to combine in favour of a Jacobite restoration; and, on the other hand, the Powers interested in maintaining the *status quo*

began to draw together in defence of the Utrecht settlement. The result was that, early in 1717, France, Great Britain and the United Provinces—so lately at bitter enmity, open or concealed, with one another—entered into a *Triple Alliance*.

II. THE FIRST WHIG SCHISM, 1717-1720.

§ 329 **The Whig Split on Foreign Policy.**—The *Triple Alliance* revealed the dormant divisions in the dominant Whig party. One section believed that a spirited foreign policy on the lines laid down during the last two reigns was the best guarantee of the Protestant Succession—not unnaturally, Stanhope, the victorious general, and Sunderland, the son-in-law of Marlborough, were the leaders in this group. The other section, headed by Townshend and his brother-in-law, Walpole, thought that the maintenance of peace and the development of commerce would do more than anything else to eradicate Jacobitism. Accordingly we find that towards the end of 1716 Stanhope had taken Townshend's place as Secretary of State for the Northern Department—the minister in charge of British relations with Northern Europe, and early in 1717 Townshend, Walpole and Pulteney were forced from office altogether because they would not support Stanhope's foreign policy. There was much shuffling of offices during the next three years, but on the whole the Stanhope-Sunderland group were "in" and the Townshend-Walpole group were "out." All this marked a step in the development of party-government. It was not enough that the ministers should belong to one party—they must also act harmoniously together, if their joint action was to be effective.

§ 330 **Stanhope's Foreign Policy, 1717-1720.**—The schemes which the *Triple Alliance* was meant to checkmate were mostly concerned with Northern and Central Europe, but the Italian ambitions of Elizabeth Farnese directed attention to the South. In 1717, Spanish forces occupied Sardinia and began to attack Sicily, but the possibility of further success here was ended by Sir George Byng's destruction of the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro in August 1718. A few months later Spain lost her only ally by the death of Charles XII at Fredenickshall in Norway; and in 1719 a Spanish attempt to arouse a new Jacobite insurrection was defeated at Glenshiel, on the west coast of Scotland. Meanwhile the Emperor had joined the anti-Spanish coalition, which thus became a *Quadruple Alliance*. Spain, having failed all round in consequence of starting operations before she was ready and of the untiring

diplomacy of Great Britain, came to terms: in 1719, Alberoni was dismissed; and in the following year Philip V. acknowledged the Protestant Succession and the Utrecht partition of the Spanish dominions. The Duke of Savoy accepted the island of Sardinia, with the title of King, instead of the more distant island of Sicily, which had been assigned to him by the *Peace of Utrecht*, but which was now transferred to Austria (§§ 320, 340). About the same time British mediation effected a settlement among the Baltic Powers on favourable terms for Sweden, and thus for a moment Europe was at peace.

§ 331. **Stanhope's Home Policy, 1717-1720.**—Stanhope's foreign policy, on the whole, had been creditable and successful: the home policy of his Administration was less successful, partly through the opposition of the ejected Whigs. In ecclesiastical affairs they tried to put a stop to the violent controversies, largely anti-Hanoverian, of the Anglican clergy by discontinuing the meeting of Convocation, which did not again meet for business till 1858, and their *Protestant Interests Act* of 1719 gratified their supporters among the Protestant Nonconformists by repealing the *Occasional Conformity Act* and the *Schism Act* of Anne's closing years. In purely civil affairs their experiments in politics and finance proved abortive. In 1719 Sunderland introduced a *Peerage Bill* designed to prevent the expansion of the English and British peerages beyond their present number (178) and to substitute for the sixteen elective Scots peers in the House of Lords twenty-five hereditary ones. The Bill was intended to make impossible a repetition of the tactics whereby Queen Anne had secured a majority in the House of Lords for the *Peace of Utrecht*; but it was also meant to supplement the *Septennial Act* by making the Upper House a close and compact body exposed as little as possible to outside influences. The Bill, had it become law, might have effected permanent changes in the balance of the Constitution, but it was rejected by the House of Commons. Here, as in the failure of the contemporary proposals to modify the *Test Act* of 1673 in favour of the Dissenters, the effective leader of the triumphant majority was Robert Walpole, whom the Ministry therefore deemed it prudent to conciliate by readmission to their ranks in 1720.

§ 332. **The South Sea Bubble, 1720.**—In 1719 the Stanhope-Sunderland Administration made a financial experiment which proved disastrous to itself, both individually and collectively, and which occasioned widespread distress. They sold the National

Debt, now standing at some £35,000,000, to the South Sea Company—which had been founded by Harley in 1711 and later endowed with the trading facilities wrested from Spain at Utrecht—in return for increased commercial privileges. The Government was to obtain a large premium and to effect a great saving in annual interest; the Company was to increase its capital and business; and its fortunate shareholders were to become rich beyond the dreams of avarice. This huge speculation led to many others; and the result was a financial crisis which Walpole was called upon to bring to an end. Practically his settlement amounted to this: those who had been reduced to penury through their trust in the South Sea Company, as supported by Government, were compensated at the expense of the Directors; the Government sacrificed most of its financial gains; and the Company was restricted to its proper work as a trading concern—in the course of which it was destined to involve the country in further trouble (§ 344)

III BEGINNING OF WALPOLE'S ADMINISTRATION, 1721-1727.

§ 333 **Walpole's Ministerial Policy.**—The First Whig Schism ended with the death or disgrace of the Stanhope-Sunderland group, in consequence of their connection with the South Sea Bubble, and with the restoration to power of the peace section of the Whigs. Walpole, being a financier, was made First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lords Townshend and Carteret were Secretaries of State, and it gradually became clear that Walpole was going to retain the pre-eminence which his financial work in 1720 had given him. George I, who was a good man of business, and a keen judge of character, had been loth to lose him in 1717, and now welcomed him back to office, giving him an increasing measure of well-deserved confidence. Yet Walpole did not throw himself heartily, as Stanhope had done, into George's continental schemes, but rather devoted himself to the peaceful development of Great Britain.

§ 334 **Atterbury's Jacobite Plot, 1722**—The Jacobites had been encouraged by the South Sea Crisis, and by the birth of a son to "James III" in 1720, to form a plot on an extensive scale, but the only result was that the most capable of their leaders in England, Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was deprived of his see and banished by special Act of Parliament (1722). Bolingbroke, on the other hand—who had not remained long in the service of the exiled Stuart—was allowed to return to England, and took an active

part in opposing the Ministry. About the same time, another disappointed politician, Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, made such an outcry against one of the lesser grievances under which Ireland was suffering that it was redressed by the Government.

§ 335. **Wood's Half-Pence and Ireland, 1719-1727.**—A patent had been granted to William Wood of Wolverhampton to issue a copper coinage for Ireland, and as he had had to pay to a court favourite a heavy bribe in order to secure the monopoly, he recouped himself by supplying a coinage in excessive quantity. Swift, under the guise of a Dublin clothier, wrote a series of *Drapier's Letters* in which he denounced the existing misgovernment of Ireland. Carteret was relieved of his Secretaryship, which was given to the Duke of Newcastle, and sent over to Ireland to restore quiet; but no redress was given except in the withdrawal of "Wood's Half-pence." In other respects, the condition of Ireland was made worse about this time. In 1719, the British Parliament passed a *Declaratory Act* formally asserting its right to make laws for that kingdom over the head of the Irish Parliament; and eight years later the Penal Code was completed by an Act of the Irish Parliament excluding Roman Catholics from the parliamentary franchise in Ireland.

§ 336 **The Rival Alliances of Vienna and Hanover, 1724-1727**—In 1722, Charles VI. granted a Charter to an Ostend East India Company to compete with the British, Dutch, and French companies in the Oriental trade, and in 1725 he entered into an alliance with Spain whereby the Emperor promised help in recovering Gibraltar in return for trade concessions and for Spanish recognition of his *Pragmatic Sanction*. This arrangement, negotiated by Elizabeth's new minister, Ripperda, and known as the *First Treaty of Vienna*, was met by a *Treaty of Hanover*, whereby Great Britain, France, and Prussia made a counter coalition in defence of the Utrecht settlement. In 1727, Spain laid vain siege to Gibraltar and Hozier was sent on an equally futile expedition against Porto-Bello, the chief Spanish town on the isthmus of Panama. Meanwhile, Walpole and Fleury, the new French minister, were doing their utmost to prevent this diplomatic war leading to open hostilities on a large scale; and before the sudden death of George I. in June 1727 the Vienna Alliance had broken up and its original members had agreed to accept the terms of the *Treaty of Hanover*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GEORGE II AND WALPOLE, 1727-1742.

A PERSONAL HISTORY—Son of George Lewis, Elector of Hanover (George I of Great Britain), born at Hanover, October 30, 1683, married Caroline Wilhelmina of Anspach (*d* November, 1737), 1705, created Duke of Cambridge, 1706, created Prince of Wales, 1714, succeeded his father as Elector-King, June 11, 1727, died at Kensington Palace, October 25, 1760, buried at Westminster Abbey For family connections, see Table, p 198

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	EMPIRE	PRUSSIA	FRANCE	SPAIN	POIAND	RUSSIA
Benedict XIII (1724)	Charles VI (1711-1740)	Frederick William I (1713)	Louis XV (1715-1774)	Philip V (1700)	August II (1697-1704, 1709-1733)	Peter II (1727)
Clement XII (1730)	Maria Theresa, Qu Hung & Bohemia (1740-1780)	Frederick II <i>the Great</i> (1740-1786)			August III (1733-1763)	Anna (1730)
Benedict XIV (1740)	Charles VII <i>Wittels- bach</i> (1742-5)			Ferdinand VI (1746)		Ivan VI (1740)
Clement XIII (1758-1769)	Francis I (1745-1765)			Charles III (1759- 1788)		Elizabeth (1741- 1762)

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

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| <p>(1) International: relations with—</p> <p>(1) France §§ 338, 340, 345, 346</p> <p>(2) Spain §§ 338, 340, 344, 345, 347</p> <p>(3) Austria §§ 340, 345, 346, 347</p> <p>(4) Prussia § 346</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional</p> <p>(1) Parliament §§ 337, 341, 342, 344, 347</p> <p>(2) Trade and Finance §§ 337, 338, 339, 340, 344.</p> <p>(3) Colonies §§ 340, 344</p> <p>(4) Church §§ 337, 343</p> |
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WALPOLE AND QUEEN CAROLINE, 1727-1737

§ 337. **Walpole and Sir Spencer Compton, 1727.**—The accession of George II filled the growing number of Walpole's enemies with hopes of ministerial changes, but they were speedily disappointed. These hopes were based on the habit which the heirs

of the House of Guelf had contracted of quarrelling with their parents. George II., as Prince of Wales, had been barely on speaking terms with his father, and was therefore naturally ill-disposed toward his father's minister. But Sir Spencer Compton, the man whom George II. proposed to put in Walpole's position, had neither the personal capacity nor the parliamentary influence of Sir Robert; and George II., being well acquainted with the peculiarities of the British Constitution and being also influenced by his clever wife, Caroline of Anspach, speedily resolved to give his confidence to his father's friend. This confidence Walpole retained not only till his fall from office in 1742, but also till his death three years later. His first service to his new master was to persuade Parliament to augment the Civil List; and at the same time he increased his popularity with the Dissenters by beginning the practice of passing an *Indemnity Act*, whereby Dissenters were annually relieved from any penalties they might have incurred through holding municipal offices contrary to the terms of the *Test Act* and the *Corporation Act*. Such a method of gratifying friends without stirring the activity of enemies, was characteristic of Walpole's policy throughout. his favourite motto was, "Let sleeping dogs lie."

§ 338. **Second Treaty of Vienna, 1731.**—The death of George I. and other events about the same time caused litches in the negotiations between the rival alliances of Vienna and Hanover, but in the long run the steady pressure on the side of peace exerted both by Walpole in Great Britain and by Cardinal Fleury in France brought about a settlement of existing quarrels by the *Treaty of Seville*, 1729, and the *Second Treaty of Vienna*, 1731. The main factor in these complicated diplomatic arrangements was the desire of the Emperor Charles VI. to secure the succession in his hereditary dominions to his elder daughter, Maria Theresa, as provided in a document known as the *Pragmatic Sanction*. He purchased the guarantee of Great Britain to this document by suppressing his Ostend Company, and that of Spain by ceding the Italian duchies of Parma and Piacenza to Don Carlos, eldest son of Elizabeth Farnese. Meanwhile there had occurred an event which had a more enduring importance in international politics than these territorial arrangements: the birth of a son to Louis XV. of France in 1729 had removed the cause of various family jealousies between the two branches of the House of Bourbon, and had prepared the way for the renewal of the natural family alliance which had been in abey-

ance since the death of Louis XIV. The gradual *rapprochement* between France and Spain ultimately proved fatal to the Anglo-French understanding, and to the peace policy which Walpole and Fleury based on that understanding.

§ 339. **The Excise Bill, 1733.**—Walpole's "passion for peace" was due to his desire to give the nation a chance to accumulate wealth by trade and to become reconciled to the Protestant Succession. He rearranged the customs duties so as to encourage both the import of raw materials and the export of manufactured products; and his biographer, Archdeacon Coxe, has declared that "he found our tariff the worst in the world and he left it the best." But his greatest effort in this direction proved to be premature. His *Excise Bill*, 1733, was intended to levy taxes on wine and tobacco by way of *excise*, collected shortly before the articles were distributed to consumers, rather than by way of *customs*, collected when the goods were imported. This change would have checked smuggling by making it less profitable, enriched the Exchequer, and cheapened the goods for the consumer; and Walpole also hoped that it might have helped "to make London a free port and the market of the world." Loud outcries against what was represented as an inquisitorial measure and an electioneering dodge compelled Walpole to abandon a measure which has since been generally recognized to be based on sound principles of finance. He "declined," to use his own words, "to raise taxes at the price of blood."

§ 340. **Georgia and the Polish Election, 1733**—The year of the Excise Scheme was marked also by the foundation of Georgia and the outbreak of the War of the Polish Election. The colony of Georgia, established by James Oglethorpe as a refuge for debtors and religious exiles, was, in its early years, the scene both of the labours of the Wesleys and of frontier disputes with Spanish Florida. The War of the Polish Election, which broke out in the same year, was a conflict between the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs in which Great Britain took part only as a mediator. In the end, Austria placed her candidate, Augustus of Saxony, on the throne of Poland. The French candidate, Stanislaus Leczinski, Louis XV.'s father-in-law, was consoled with the duchies of Lorraine and Bar (to fall to France on his death), Francis, Duke of Lorraine (betrothed to Maria Theresa, and afterwards Emperor), was compensated with the duchy of Tuscany, where the Medici were dying out, and Don Carlos gained the kingdom of the two Sicilies in exchange for the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. Walpole won the ill-will of

Austria for not helping her, but consoled himself with the fact that no Englishman had fallen among the 50,000 killed in Europe. France and Spain, fearing British intervention, had made the *First Bourbon Family Compact* (1733). The results of the war were embodied in a *Third Treaty of Vienna*, which was slowly put together and accepted during the years 1735-1738

II. THE SECOND WHIG SCHISM, 1737-1742.

§ 341. **Death of Queen Caroline, 1737.**—Before the various disputes connected with the War of the Polish Election had been finally adjusted, Walpole had lost his firmest friend, Queen Caroline “the Illustrious,” who died towards the end of 1737. About the same time, her eldest son, Frederick Prince of Wales—who inherited the faults but not the capacity of his parents—definitely quarrelled with his father, and became the centre of the political opposition to Walpole. This opposition was growing in variety, in numbers, and in strength, but when the time of triumph came it was speedily found to lack both the coherence and the leaders necessary to enable it to take Walpole’s place (§ 348). It contained four principal groups. The first and most thorough-going section consisted of the Jacobites, headed by “honest” Shuppen—who had a strong personal regard for Walpole’s probity and capacity, but could not endure his principles. Next to these, and hardly distinguishable from them, were the Hanoverian Tories led by Sir William Wyndham in Parliament and by Bolingbroke outside. The latter had been allowed to return from exile in 1723, but had not been permitted to take his seat in the House of Lords: his opposition, therefore, had to take a literary form—in various pamphlets, especially his *Idea of a Patriot King*, and in the political periodical called *The Craftsman*, which existed from 1727 to 1735, when Bolingbroke abandoned an apparently hopeless struggle and returned to France. But the two sections of the Tories, however brilliant in leadership, were less practically dangerous than the malcontent Whigs. Some of these, e.g. Carteret, Pulteney, and Chesterfield, were former members of the Administration, who had lost their offices because they would not work in harmony with Walpole: others, like John Stuart, Marquess of Bute, and William Pitt, were younger men who were angry with Walpole for not taking them at their own valuation as desirable colleagues. The latter Walpole good-humouredly called “The Boys”; and all of them, denouncing Walpole as a man who sacrificed the nation to party interests, called themselves

"Patriots," a high-sounding name which Bolingbroke had made fashionable.

§ 342. **Walpole's Position as Prime Minister.**—The principal accusations hurled against Walpole were that his methods were corrupt, that his political aims were altogether wrong, and that he was absolutely dominated by self-interest. To which charges the proper reply seems to be that his methods were not more corrupt than those of his predecessors and rivals, and that his policy was much more successful than that of his accusers and supplanters. The King's government could not be carried on unless the Ministers had the confidence not only of the King, but also of the House of Commons, and as that body was then constituted, the only effective way of securing its continuous support was to give its members pensions or places. As Walpole truly enough said, they required to be paid, "not for voting *against*, but for voting *with*, their consciences" Walpole's alleged "jealousy of rivals" sprang out of his perception that the members of an administration must not only be drawn from one party, but must also work together. They must all have the same "opinion" as expressed in action; and that opinion must, he considered, be *his* opinion. That is why he has been generally recognized as the first British "Prime Minister" in anything like the modern sense of that term.

§ 343. **Rise of Methodism, 1729-1739.**—Walpole was in fact a somewhat good specimen of an Englishman in an age of coarse and material "rationalism." Nevertheless, this Walpolean age of common-sense witnessed the rise of an "enthusiastic" movement in religion which has since continued to spread among English-speaking peoples. The originators of this movement were a group of Oxford men who about 1729 formed a small society whose members were bent on leading earnest and regular lives in the service of others. Their regularity, or methodical habits, in religion won them the academical nickname of "Methodists." Of this society the chief were the brothers Wesley, John and Charles, and George Whitefield, who all began to work on a large scale in 1739, shortly after John Wesley's return from Georgia. They took orders in the Church of England and wished merely to supplement its work by preaching the Gospel to those who did not come under the influence of the parochial system. In the long run, however, they were driven, by the hostility of the benefited clergy, and by the peculiarities of the law with regard to meeting-houses, to establish organizations apart from the established churches in the

British Isles, while differences among themselves on theological points caused them to form various distinct "connexions" which developed into separate churches. These fall into two main groups—"Wesleyan" and "Calvinistic" Methodists, of which the latter became strongest in Wales.

§ 344. **Trade Quarrels with Spain.**—Heartily supported by the King, and commanding a steady majority in the House of Commons, Walpole had no difficulty in keeping his place so long as none but professional politicians were ranged against him. Early in 1739, indeed, the Opposition formally seceded from the House, explaining that so long as "the arguments were all on one side and the votes on the other," their presence there was of no use. But before the year was out they returned to their places because they found that the Minister was becoming unpopular with the nation at large. He was not taking as decided a stand against what was called Spanish aggression as amateur politicians thought he ought to take. The trouble, like the South Sea Bubble, rose out of the commercial clauses of the Anglo-Spanish *Treaty of Utrecht*. The British merchants tried to evade the severe restrictions imposed by that treaty on commercial dealings with Spanish America; not unnaturally the Spanish Government insisted that its Customs' officers or *guarda costas* should see that the treaty was duly observed; and though the palmy days of the West Indian buccaneers had ended with Morgan's capture of Panama in 1671, there was doubtless much lawless trading on the one side that was barely distinguishable from piracy, and on the other much cruelty in the enforcement of the law. One story made a great impression on the public. A trader, named Jenkin, went about showing an ear which, he said, had been brutally torn off by a Spanish official. When asked what he had done on this occasion, Jenkin said, "I commended my soul to my God, and my cause to my country." Walpole thought that Captain Jenkin's country could best deal with the cause of Jenkin and his fellow-traders by negotiating with Spain; the merchants and the parliamentary Opposition clamoured for war; Walpole, after his fashion, yielded to the general will; and towards the end of 1739 war was declared on both sides.

§ 345. **The War of Jenkin's Ear, 1739-1748.**—The war thus begun lasted for nearly nine years and was almost wholly uneventful. For this there were two reasons. Firstly the "colony" war became swamped by a number of European wars which arose out of the death of the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740, and which are

generally called "The War of the Austrian Succession." Secondly, neither Spain nor Great Britain had paid much attention to the fighting services, especially on the naval side, during the generation which followed the *Peace of Utrecht* : they were consequently unable to prosecute the war with much vigour. So far as Great Britain is concerned, experts in naval history divide the blame for the unpreparedness pretty evenly between Walpole's ignorance of war and the growth of various traditions in the British Navy which hampered efficiency. In December 1739, Admiral Vernon took Porto-Bello, on the Isthmus of Panama, but two years later he failed to capture the neighbouring town of Carthagena. Meanwhile Commodore Anson had started on a four years' voyage round the world (1740-1744), in the course of which he plundered various Spanish vessels and towns in South America.

§ 346 The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1743.—The "War of the Austrian Succession" was a renewal of the old conflict between Bourbon and Hapsburg. Spain attacked Austria directly in Italy, France attacked her indirectly in Germany, under the guise of a subsidized ally to Charles Albert, the Elector of Bavaria, who was the principal claimant against Maria Theresa for the Hapsburg estates. Frederick II, who had just succeeded to the throne of Prussia, seized Silesia. Great Britain under Walpole's rule confined herself to supplying Maria Theresa with subsidies according to treaty, and with mediating between her and her Prussian enemy, a mediation which ended successfully for a time with the *Treaty of Breslau-Berlin* (1742). But the confusion in Europe was great. Saxony, Sardinia, Russia and Sweden all had a share in the diplomacy and fighting. Walpole in Great Britain and Fleury in France were both opposed by vigorous war-parties who objected to the half-hearted policy of their ministers. Fleury remained in office till his death in 1743. Walpole was driven from office in the previous year.

§ 347 Fall of Walpole, February 1742—Walpole was loudly blamed, both for mismanagement of the maritime war against Spain and for not giving adequate assistance to Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI., against her many enemies. As in 1733, Walpole wanted to stop the war in order to lessen the chances of a Jacobite rising, but this time the task of peacemaker proved beyond his powers. The Opposition closed up their ranks and ceaselessly attacked him; and the new Parliament, which was elected in 1741, when the war-fever was at its height, was far less favourable to him than its predecessor. The change was partly due

to the fact that Walpole had offended Scottish national sentiment by inflicting a fine on the City of Edinburgh on account of the Porteous Riots of 1736. A number of close divisions before and after Christmas 1741 was followed by a Government defeat on a disputed election for Chippenham; and Walpole, realizing that it was useless to remain in office without parliamentary support, at length persuaded the King to permit him to resign. There were wild hopes that he would share the fate which had befallen another "tyrant minister," Strafford, exactly one hundred years before (§ 169), but the attempt to find evidence of criminal action on his part proved abortive, and he retired to the House of Lords with the title of Earl of Orford. That was for him not only a reward, but also a kind of banishment. When he there met his old rival, Pulteney, who had been created Earl of Bath, he greeted him with these words: "Here we are, my lord, the two most insignificant fellows in England."

CHAPTER XIX

GEORGE II AND THE PELHAMS, 1742-1754

- A. PERSONAL HISTORY }
B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS } See previous chapter.

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

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| (1) International: relations with— | (u) Constitutional. |
| (1) France §§ 349-352, 356-358 | (1) King v Ministers §§ 348, 351, 355, 359 |
| (2) Spain §§ 350, 356, 358 | (2) Ministers and Parliament §§ 348, 351, 352, 355, 359 |
| (3) Austria §§ 349-352, 356 | (3) Jacobitism §§ 350, 353, 354 |
| (4) Prussia §§ 349, 355, 356 | (4) Finance § 359 |
| (5) Russia § 357 | (5) Colonies §§ 349, 350, 356, 357. |
| (6) United Netherlands §§ 351, 356 | |

I. CARTERET'S "DRUNKEN ADMINISTRATION," 1742-1744.

§ 348 **Walpole's Successors in Office, 1742**—The circumstances of Walpole's fall illustrate several important differences between the constitutional practices of his day and of our own. His resignation had been only incidentally connected with the General Election of 1741, and it had not greatly affected the position of his colleagues. Now-a-days, the constitutional custom or convention is that a Ministry defeated in the House of Commons should either "dissolve Parliament" and "appeal to the country," or else resign *en masse*. Walpole, on the contrary, had resigned after his parliamentary defeat, not as a matter of course, but because he chose to do so; and his resignation did not involve the resignation of the entire Ministry. Most of his colleagues remained in office, except Harrington, who was succeeded as Secretary of State by John, Lord Carteret. Walpole was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer by Sandys, and as First Lord of the Treasury by Lord Wilmington—the Sir Spencer Compton of 1727 (§ 337). Pulteney, whom Walpole had recommended to the King as his chief adviser, declined

to take any definite office, but accepted a peerage and a seat in the Cabinet. Bolingbroke returned from France only to find that the men who had been glad to make use of his services in opposing Walpole would have nothing to do with him as a candidate for office in the "Patriot" Ministry. In the absence of Pulteney and Bolingbroke, the chief place in the new Cabinet was left to Carteret, an erudite scholar and brilliant politician whose ideas were much more intelligible and acceptable to the King than to his colleagues. His erratic conduct—attributed by contemporary scandal to his convivial habits—won for his term of office the name of the "Drunken Administration"

§ 349. **Carteret's Foreign Policy.**—Carteret knew little and cared less for home or colonial affairs, the matter in which he was interested, and of which he had a unique knowledge, was European international relations. Here he pursued a "Hanoverian" policy, and was eager to do all he could to help the Queen of Hungary against her enemies. A British fleet under Matthews bombarded Naples and compelled King Charles to remain neutral, and British subsidies enabled the Queen to carry on war successfully against the Wittelsbach rival, who had been elected Emperor (Charles VII) in January 1742, but whose position was aptly described as "*Et Caesar et nihil*." In 1743 Great Britain and Hanover intervened still more actively in German affairs, and Carteret was accused, especially by William Pitt, of having swallowed some potent drug which made him forget his own country and think of nothing but a "despicable German Electorate." George II. in person led southwards a "Pragmatic Army" of British and Hanoverian troops, and fought an indecisive battle against the French allies of Bavaria at Dettingen-on-Main (June 27)

§ 350. **The Second Family Compact, 1743.**—In the following September Carteret negotiated the *Treaty of Worms* whereby Sardinia agreed to help Maria Theresa against the Bourbons in return for a portion of the Milanese. In reply to this treaty, France and Spain entered into a *Second Family Compact*, October 1743, whereby they pledged themselves to deprive Austria of her remaining Italian possessions, and to wrest Gibraltar, Minorca, Georgia and the Assiento from Great Britain (cf §§ 340, 379). The upshot of these diplomatic arrangements was that in March 1744 France declared war against both Great Britain and Austria: in other words, instead of being merely rival auxiliaries to Powers formally at war with one another, France and Great Britain openly renewed

their long-intermitted struggle. This time the fighting took place not only in Europe and in North America, but also in India. During the month before war was declared a British fleet under Norris had driven back a French Jacobite expedition, and another fleet under Matthews had repulsed a Franco-Spanish squadron off Hyères, near Toulon.

§ 351 Fall of Carteret, November 1744.—Meanwhile a ministerial struggle was going on within the British Cabinet between Carteret, now Earl Granville, and his colleagues. Granville's chief rivals were the two Pelhams, Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, who had been Secretary of State since 1724, and his younger brother Henry, who had also served under Walpole, and who had become First Lord of the Treasury on Wilmington's death in July 1743. The Pelhams were as willing as Granville to subsidize Austria against France, but they preferred the old familiar Whig diplomacy which centred at the Hague, to the new "Hanoverian" method which led into incomprehensible complications in Germany. They wanted to revive the "old system" of Anne's war-time. They were united among themselves, and controlled the votes in Parliament. When therefore, in November 1744, they asked the King to choose between themselves and Granville, George was reluctantly compelled to yield to the "Whig Oligarchy" and dismiss his favourite minister. His Secretaryship was given to Lord Harrington, an old adherent of Walpole, and places were found for Chesterfield, Grenville, Bedford and Grafton.

II. THE PELHAMS' "BROAD-BOTTOM" ADMINISTRATION, 1744-1754.

§ 352. Battle of Fontenoy, 1745—The Pelhams readily accepted the French invitation to shift the chief theatre of the continental war from Germany to the Southern Netherlands; but they were far from successful there. In May 1745, George II.'s capable younger son, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, nearly won a pitched battle at Fontenoy, but he was ultimately defeated by the skill of Marshal Saxe, the greatest general of the day, and by the vengeful valour of the Irish Brigade (§ 284). Shortly afterwards the British troops were withdrawn from the Netherlands to meet danger nearer home. Walpole was hardly dead (March 1745), before the Jacobite insurrection which he had so clearly foreseen, and which he had done so much to render hopeless, came to pass.

§ 353. The Forty-Five : (i) The Advance to Derby, 1745.—In July 1745 Charles Edward, "the Young Pretender," landed on the West Coast of Scotland with "the Seven Men of Moidart"; and on August 19, he set up his standard in Glenfinnan. He came without the sanction of his father, and with no support from France—whose ministers had learned that the hopeful prospects on which the extensive expedition of the previous year had been based, were pure fabrications of Jacobite intriguers. Yet the daring, and the winsome bearing of the young Chevalier were potent to persuade several of the principal Highland chieftains to throw in their lot with him. Sir John Cope, the Hanoverian commander in Scotland, left the road to the south open; Prince Charles, moving rapidly south, successively occupied Perth and Edinburgh; and in the dawn of September 21, he surprised and defeated Cope at Prestonpans. Charles spent about five weeks keeping his Court in Edinburgh, and then resolved to make a dash for England. Marching through Carlisle, Preston and Lancaster, he reached Derby early in December. Only a small force encamped at Finchley barred the way to London; and George II. packed up his jewels ready for flight to his native land. But the Highland army was small in number, it had gathered few recruits on its journey south; and it was in danger of being crushed by the larger armies of Wade and Cumberland in its rear. Against his will, Charles yielded to the cautious counsels of his advisers and gave the word to retreat.

§ 354. (ii) The Retreat to Culloden, 1746.—Charles's retreat, like his advance, occupied just about four months. In its course he gained slight victories at Clifton near Penrith—the last battle fought on English soil—in December, and at Falkirk in the following January. The defeated generals, Cumberland and Hawley respectively, learned by experience how to deal with the Highland rush; and when they finally met Charles's dispirited and diminished forces on Culloden Moor near Inverness (April 6), they won a decisive victory. Charles passed through many hairbreadth escapes while wandering about the Highlands and Western Isles during the next five months, but at length the loyalty of the clansmen, and especially of Flora Macdonald, enabled him to return in safety to France. The British Government exacted ample vengeance for its twelvemonth of alarm and anxiety, and also took steps to provide against the recurrence of rebellion. Besides striking a blow at Scottish sentiment by abolishing the office of Secretary of State for

Scotland, which had been in existence since the Union of 1707, the Pelhams passed and enforced Acts disarming the Highlanders, forbidding the use of their national costume, and putting an end to the hereditary jurisdictions of the clan chieftains. The policy of anglicization was kept in force for a shorter time, and did less harm in Scotland than in Ireland. The worst result has been a partial depopulation of the Highlands, but this was less due to the Pelhams than to economic causes. A few years later, the elder Pitt found an outlet for Scottish military energy by forming Highland regiments which have ever since been among the most popular and efficient in the British Army.

§ 355. **The Two-Days' Ministry of Bath and Granville, February 1746**—In February 1746, shortly after the retreat from Derby had made the danger of a Jacobite restoration less imminent, but while it was still possible that "James VIII" might continue to hold Scotland, there was a renewed struggle for mastery between the Pelhams and the King. George II, in pursuance of his natural Hanoverian policy, wished to give more active help to Austria, especially against the possibility of a third attack by Prussia. The Pelhams wanted rather to oppose France in the Netherlands, and also to introduce Pitt into the Ministry. By way of putting pressure on the King, the Pelhams resigned office, George accepted their resignation and invited Bath and Granville to form an Administration. After being in office, according to the wits, for precisely "forty-eight hours, seven minutes, eleven seconds," they abandoned their allotted task, partly because they could find few politicians willing to become colleagues, and partly because they had so small a following in either House of Parliament. Once again Granville had found his mistake in fancying that "a minister with the King on his side could do anything"; once again George found himself "held prisoner" by his masterful servants, and the Pelhams returned to office, bringing Pitt with them. After a short time Pitt was made Paymaster of the Forces, a minor office which was chiefly valuable for the patronage and perquisites attached to it. Though a poor man, he refused to enrich himself at the expense of his country and thus won a deserved reputation for incorruptibility, and consequently a widespread popularity which stood him in good stead in after years.

§ 356. **European Theatres of War, 1745-1748.**—Meanwhile the wars begun since 1739 were still dragging on, but they had completely changed their direction. The various wars arising

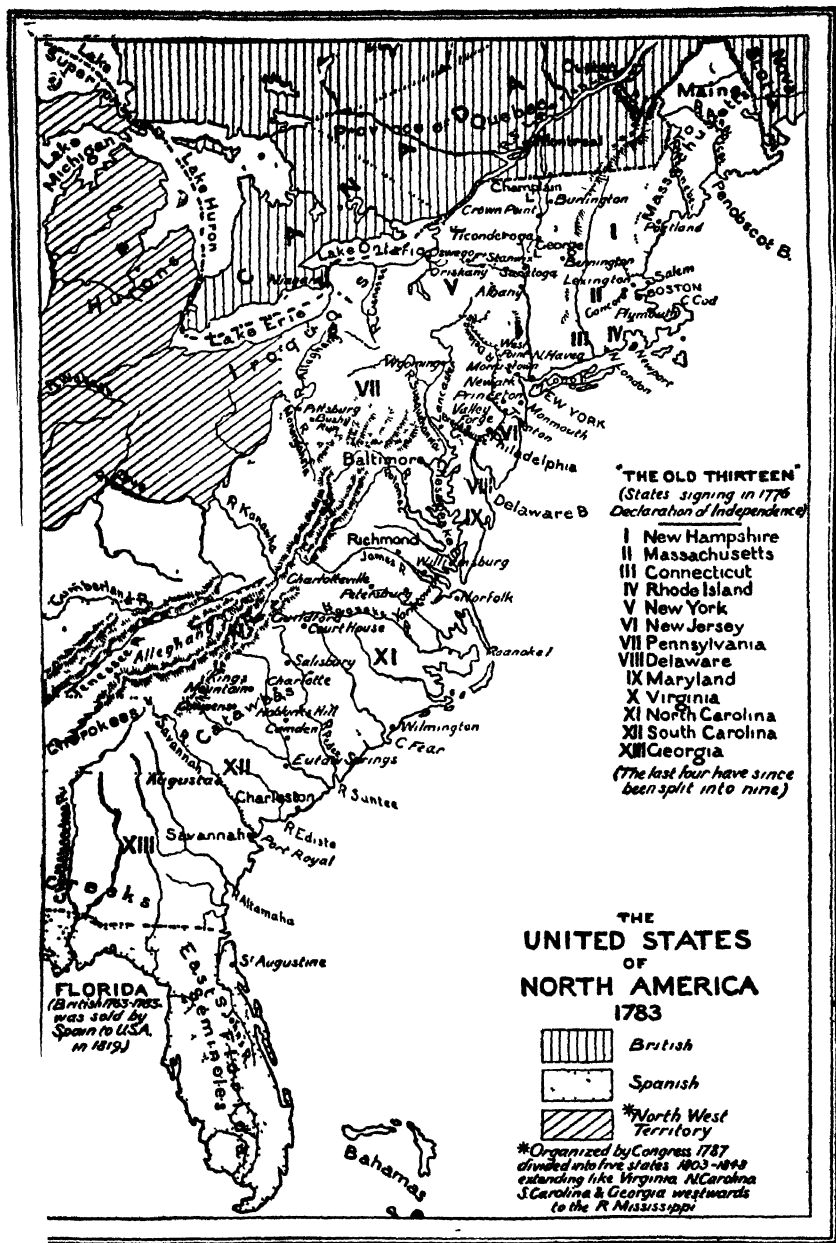
directly out of the question of the Austrian Succession had come to an end in 1745, when Frederick II. of Prussia brought to a close the Second Silesian War, and when Bavaria had abandoned all claims to the Hapsburg estates and recognized Maria Theresa's husband, Francis, Duke of Tuscany, as Emperor in succession to the dead Wittelsbach, Charles VII. France and Spain remained allies against Great Britain and Austria. The Austro-Spanish fighting took place in Italy and gave some employment to the British fleet in the Mediterranean. The Austro-French fighting took place in the Austrian Netherlands, which, despite British help in troops and subsidies, fell into French hands; and thus in 1747 the United Netherlands were at last drawn into the fray.

§ 357. **Maritime and Colonial Warfare, 1745-1748.**—Great Britain was chiefly interested in the struggle against France, and the main fighting took place outside the European mainland. In June 1745 a New England force under Pepperell, aided by a British fleet, took the strong fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, which not only protected the French colonies on the St. Lawrence, but harboured privateers engaged in raiding the ships and shores of British North America. In September 1746 the French under La Bourdonnais captured Madras, the British head-quarters in India. In June 1747 Anson and Warren almost destroyed a French fleet off Cape Finisterre, and in the following October Hawke defeated another French fleet off Ushant and occupied Belleisle. On the whole the French had the advantage by land, Great Britain by sea, and in 1747 the Sea Powers resolved to turn the scale on land by subsidizing Russia to send an army into Western Europe.

§ 358. **Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.**—This display of energy led directly to the negotiations which resulted in the inconclusive *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, 1748, which confirmed the cessions of territory made by Austria to Prussia and Sardinia, restored the duchies of Parma and Piacenza to the Bourbons (in the person of Charles's younger brother, Philip), and arranged that France and Great Britain should abandon their various conquests in the Netherlands, North America, and India. By a supplementary *Treaty of Madrid*, 1750, Great Britain abandoned her trade-rights with Spanish America in return for a lump sum down. Nothing was said about the Spanish claim to the "right of search" on the high seas, and nothing definite was settled in the case of the outstanding Anglo-French disputes in East and West. The wars of 1739 to

1748, in both their European and their extra-European aspects, were merely preliminary to the far greater struggle fought out in the Seven Years' War of 1756 to 1763 (ch. xx.).

§ 359. **The Pelham Peace, 1748-1754.**—The six years following the *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, were almost uneventful. In 1750 Pelham rearranged the National Debt, which now stood at £78,000,000, in such a way that, though the capital sum was slightly increased, the annual charges were lowered by the reduction of the rate of interest from four or five per cent. to three per cent., and by consolidating fourteen different loans into four loans—thereafter known as “Consols.” In 1751 the death of Frederick Prince of Wales weakened the Opposition and made it safe for the King and the Pelhams to agree in recalling Granville to the Ministry, in the dignified but unimportant office of Lord President of the Council. In the same year Chesterfield carried a useful *Calendar Act*, whereby the British method of reckoning time was assimilated to that in use among the Western States of the Continent. The Julian Calendar had made too liberal an allowance of leap years, and the error, though slight in itself, had caused the time, as reckoned by it, to fall eleven days behind the true solar time. The error had been rectified by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 by temporary adjustments and providing that for the future the last year of a century should not be accounted leap year unless it was divisible by 400. By Chesterfield's Act the Gregorian Calendar—hitherto condemned in England on account of its Popish origin—was adopted, the error of eleven days was got rid of by counting as September 14, 1752, the day which under the “Old Style” would have been September 3; and the year, from 1753 onwards, was legally appointed to begin on January 1 instead of March 25 as hitherto. In 1753 the Lord Chancellor, Hardwicke, passed a *Marriage Act* aimed at the suppression in England of clandestine and irregular marriages by providing that no marriage, except in the case of Jews or Quakers, should be recognized as legal unless performed, after due notice or under special license, by a duly qualified Anglican priest. In March 1754 Henry Pelham died, and was succeeded as First Lord and Prime Minister by his less capable brother, the Duke of Newcastle. It will be convenient to leave to the following book, the manifold reasons which George II. had for his very true forecast. “Now I shall have no more peace.”



aspirations among the middle and lower classes of society, brought about almost constant unrest in every European State; and this unrest led to all manner of international complications. The politicians who had to deal with this restlessness fall naturally into three groups—those who wanted to go back to the “good old times” when kings governed and people obeyed; those who wanted to remain where they were, not trying to undo what was done, and still less wishful to make further changes, and those who, either from deliberate choice or because they could not help themselves, wished to “move with the times” and to go forward. Corresponding with these states of mind we find such new party labels as “Reactionary” and “Ultra Royalist”; “Conservative” and “Moderate”, “Liberal,” “Progressive,” and “Radical.” In the beginning the first class of politicians naturally took the lead.

§ 475. **Reaction in Europe, 1815-1820** — The diplomatists who settled the affairs of Europe at the *Congress of Vienna* were, for the most part, persons whose mental attitude had been formed during the last years of the eighteenth century. inevitably, therefore, they distrusted “popular” movements and dreaded “revolutions.” The leader of this reactionary movement, Prince Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, had considerable influence over Castlereagh and Wellington, the most eminent British statesmen of the time, and also over the Tzar Alexander, who had done almost, if not quite, as much as Great Britain towards the overthrow of Napoleon. Despot by birth, Liberal in sentiment, Alexander towards the end of 1815 put forward a scheme of a *Holy Alliance* amongst all Christian Kings to “govern their peoples as one Christian nation upon Christian principles”; and most Kings assented to his scheme out of politeness, while laughing in their sleeves at its absurdity or annoyed at the “hypocrisy” of its projector. In the course of the next three years Alexander experienced so much difficulty in governing his kingdom of Poland on Liberal lines, that he practically dropped his ideals and adopted Metternich’s views. In 1818, at the *Congress of Aachen* (Aix-la-Chapelle), Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia formed a *Quadruple Alliance*, designed to check the outburst of revolution, not only in their own territories but in those of neighbouring monarchs. In 1820 revolutions broke out in Portugal, Spain, and Naples; and during the next two years the Great Powers met in various congresses to take joint measures against the revolutionaries. Great Britain, under the guidance of Castlereagh, took no part in these measures and gradually fell out of “the Concert of Europe.”

§ 476. **Reaction in Great Britain, 1815-1819.**—Meanwhile the British Ministry that had declined to repress disorder abroad, until it clearly threatened the peace of Europe, was busy repressing disorder at home. This disorder was almost wholly due to economic causes. The wages of both artisans and of agricultural labourers were low, while taxes and the price of food were high. During the period of the Great War the National Debt had risen from £239,000,000 to £861,000,000; the interest on this alone required taxation at the rate of about 30s. per head; and these taxes were largely raised by customs-duties on the necessaries of life. In 1815, to protect the agricultural classes from foreign competition, a new *Corn Law* was passed forbidding the importation of grain until the home supply reached famine prices (in the case of wheat, 80s. per quarter); and the benefit of these high prices went almost wholly to the landlords and the farmers, not to the labourers. The conditions of life in the new factory towns which had sprung up were horrible. Such misery inevitably led to discontent; and this discontent—whether it took the form of riots or agitation, in public meetings or in the newspapers, for political reforms—seemed to a not very wise Government to call for repression. In 1817 Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, obtained a suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, and issued a circular authorizing the local magistrates to arrest persons publishing blasphemous or seditious libels. In 1819 a bungling attempt by the Manchester magistrates to arrest “Orator Hunt” and disperse an illegal meeting in St. Peter’s Fields led to a number of deaths, and this “Manchester Massacre” or “Battle of Peterloo” caused such an outcry that Sidmouth nervously passed the *Six Acts*, giving the magistrates summary powers to disarm agitators, to suppress public meetings and libels. But the same year Peel carried an Act for the resumption of cash payments (§ 441).

§ 477. **George IV. and Queen Caroline, 1820-1821.**—In January 1820 George III. died and was succeeded by his eldest son, who had been Regent for the previous nine years. On the whole this change had some effect in weakening the existing Government. In the first place, it was impossible to feel the same respect for a coarse, selfish, extravagant and immoral man like George IV. as for his father, who, with all his shortcomings, had been devoted to what he believed to be the best interests of his subjects, and whose insanity was partly due to his unremitting attention to his public duties. A silly scheme, known as the Cato Street Conspiracy, to murder the Ministers in February 1820 was evidence of the wide-

spread feeling that nothing good could be expected of the new King. But what chiefly injured the Ministry was its attitude towards a squalid scandal in the Royal Family itself. In 1795 George had married Caroline of Brunswick in order to obtain money from Parliament to pay his debts, but he had separated from her shortly afterwards ; and he now sought a formal divorce from her on the ground of her misconduct. Lord Liverpool was persuaded to bring in a *Bill of Pains and Penalties* dissolving the marriage ; but there was such an outcry against it in the country that the Bill had to be withdrawn. Caroline's foolish behaviour soon destroyed her popularity, and she died in August 1821 , but the scandal lowered the prestige of the Kingship and the parliamentary position of the Ministers. Some people even thought that it might lead to a revolution similar to those which the misconduct of the restored Bourbons was causing in Spain and in Naples about this time.

§ 478. **Changes in the Liverpool Ministry, 1821-1823.**—Both Ministry and Parliament were undergoing changes which ultimately diminished these prospects of violent revolution. In May 1821 Sidmouth retired from public life owing to the infirmities of age, and was succeeded by Peel at the Home Office ; in September 1822 the Marquess of Londonderry, formerly Viscount Castlereagh, committed suicide, and Canning, about to sail for India as Governor-General, was detained to take the Foreign Secretaryship ; in 1823 Frederick Robinson, afterwards Viscount Goderich and Earl of Ripon, became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and William Huskisson President of the Board of Trade. Thus, instead of Sidmouth, Castlereagh, Vansittart, whose names connote old Toryism, we have Peel, Canning, Huskisson, men of newer and more liberal ideas on politics. The new men were not so much in favour of change as less obstinately opposed to it than their predecessors. In 1821, for instance, they allowed Lord John Russell to carry a Bill disfranchising the Cornish borough of Grampound for corruption, and transferring its two seats to the county of York.

II. CANNING AND HUSKISSON, 1822-1827.

§ 479. **Huskisson's Commercial Policy, 1823-1826.**—Huskisson used his authority as President of the Board of Trade to transform the commercial policy of Great Britain. Statesmen, following the counsel of associated bodies of merchants, ceased to aim at mercantile supremacy by way of self-sufficiency : their object was to make the country rich by entering more freely into international

trade. He lowered or abolished the import duties on raw materials, especially silk and wool, in order to enable British manufacturers to compete with foreign manufacturers. His *Reciprocity of Duties Act*, 1823, modified the Navigation Laws by giving better terms to countries which facilitated the entrance of British goods and shipping than to those which aimed at complete exclusion of foreigners. In 1824 various old laws regulating wages, and restricting the movements and combinations of workmen, were repealed. In the same year Peel took up the work of criminal law reform, and in the course of the next six years he procured the abolition of many barbarous punishments previously inflicted for petty crimes.

§ 480. **Canning's Foreign Policy, 1822-1826.**—The problems which Canning had to deal with were somewhat different from those which had presented themselves to his predecessor, and he faced them in a somewhat different spirit. Like Castlereagh, Canning believed that his main duty was to maintain British interests, but whereas these had been threatened in Castlereagh's days by the disturbed state of Europe, the danger was now rather that one or other of the Great Powers should aggrandise itself under pretence of putting down disturbances. When he took office the Neapolitan rising had been suppressed by Austria, but the insurgents in Spain and Portugal were still in power, and a fresh rising had broken out in the Balkan Peninsula. The "Latin" risings of 1820 had been made on behalf of "constitutional government"—that is, government in accordance with principles set forth in some such document as the Spanish Constitution of 1812 (§ 465). The "Greek" revolt of 1821 was "national" rather than "constitutional" in object, for it aimed at liberating the Greek Christians from the rule of the Muhammadan Sultan of Turkey. But in dealing with all these different risings in Southern Europe, Canning was largely animated by that distrust of Russia which had been a dominant feature in the international policy of his master, the Younger Pitt. Castlereagh had taken up a policy of strict non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states: Canning sometimes carried this policy of non-intervention a step further, by intervening to prevent intervention. He did not interfere with the action of France in restoring the Bourbon King Ferdinand VII. to his full power in Spain in 1823. But when Russia proposed to help the restored Bourbon to reconquer his revolted Colonies in South America, Canning joined President Monroe of the United States in recognizing the new Republics and in forbidding European interference in America. And when in

1826 France proposed to follow up her intervention in Spain by "restoring order" in Portugal, Canning sent a fleet to the Tagus to help the existing Government, and France drew back, not desiring to become involved in another Peninsular War.

§ 481. **Canning and the Greek Revolt, 1822-1827.**—The Greek Rising in 1821 was variously regarded. To some it was wholly objectionable as being a revolt against a legitimate government: while others approved of it either on sentimental or on religious grounds, that is because they thought of the Greeks as descendants of the heroes of Marathon or as Christians struggling against Muhammadan oppression. Metternich on the one side and the poet Byron (who died at Missolonghi in 1823 while fighting for the Greeks) on the other side were representatives of these extreme views. Canning, though not without the sympathy of a classical scholar for people calling themselves Hellenes, professed to act entirely for the political interests of Great Britain. He could not permit Russia to extend her hold over Turkey under the pretence of championing the liberties of the Christian subjects of the Porte. In 1824 the Sultan obtained the help of his semi-independent vassal, Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt; and an Egyptian army and fleet under Ibrahim Pasha began to reconquer the Morea. In 1825 Alexander I. was succeeded by his brother Nicholas, who was more disposed towards active intervention. Ultimately in July 1827, Canning—who had just become Prime Minister on the retirement of Liverpool—arranged a *Treaty of London* with France and Russia, whereby the three Powers agreed to a joint intervention to secure Greek autonomy. Turkey refused to accept their mediation, Ibrahim refused to withdraw his forces, and so in October the Egyptian fleet was destroyed by the Allied fleet under Codrington in the harbour of Navarino. This battle practically secured for the Greeks the independence which their intestine quarrels made them unable to win for themselves.

III WELLINGTON AND O'CONNELL, 1827-1830.

§ 482. **Ministerial Changes, 1827.**—Before the battle of Navarino had been fought Canning's brief premiership had been ended by death; and his successors disapproved of his policy so far as to describe the battle as "an untoward event." Lord Liverpool had retired through ill-health early in 1827, and Canning had taken his place in April. The immediate consequence was the resignation of the high Tories—Eldon, Wellington and Peel—who refused to

serve under Canning because he was in favour of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Canning obtained the support of some of the Whigs, and continued his efforts to bring the Greek revolt to a close in favour of the Greeks. He died in August 1827, and Goderich formed an Administration consisting mainly of Tories like Wellington, who could not endure Canning's progressive policy. Goderich was a capable official, but he lacked the power to control subordinates; and in January 1828 he resigned in favour of Wellington.

§ 483 **Wellington and Protestant Nonconformists, 1828.**—Wellington was popularly known as the "Iron Duke"; but as a politician he almost merited the description given to a later British statesman—"a lath painted to look like iron." A Tory of the "high and dry" school, he was continually taking up positions which he believed to be logically impregnable, but which in course of time his strong common-sense showed him to be practically untenable. In foreign policy he disliked the extension of Russian control over Turkey; and yet he withdrew from that intervention in Greek affairs whereby Canning had striven to diminish the influence of Russia in Balkan affairs; and the result was that Russia was able in 1829 to force on Turkey the unfavourable *Treaty of Adrianople*. In home politics he wished to maintain the existing constitution in Church and State; and yet his Ministry was marked by two ecclesiastical measures which his friends regarded as revolutionary. These measures removed certain civil disabilities to which Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics respectively were still subjected on account of their religious beliefs. In 1828 Lord John Russell carried a motion for the repeal of the *Corporation Act* of 1661, and of the *Test Act* of 1673, so far as they related to the Dissenters; and the Ministry, though opposing the resolution, felt it expedient to support the Bill which was based on it. For more than a century, however, these Acts had been rendered practically inoperative in consequence of annual *Indemnity Acts*, by which Dissenters had been pardoned their offences against them during the preceding twelvemonth (§ 337).

§ 484. **Wellington and Catholic Nonconformists, 1829.**—The question of Roman Catholic Emancipation was more difficult, and was taken in hand in a different spirit. During the eighteenth century the persecution of Roman Catholicism as a religion had gradually disappeared; but there remained, as there still remains, the idea that the somewhat elastic and indefinable claims of the Papacy made it dangerous to accord to her adherents the privileges

of full citizenship. These privileges, however, had been promised during the negotiations for the Irish Union; and there was a continuous demand in Ireland for the fulfilment of Pitt's pledges. Daniel O'Connell had organized Irish opinion on this point by means of a Catholic Committee (1809), and later by a "Catholic Association" (1823), which soon wielded more power in Ireland than the Government itself. Conflicts between this Association and the rival Orange Societies led in 1825 to the suppression of all such associations for three years. On the expiring of this Act in 1828 the Catholic Association at once showed its power by carrying O'Connell as member for Clare against a popular Protestant candidate, Vesey Fitz-Gerald. There seemed to be no alternative between civil war and the removal of the cause of discontent; and the Tory Ministry preferred the latter. In March and April 1829 they forced through Parliament a *Roman Catholic Relief Act* which admitted Roman Catholics, on taking a new oath instead of the Oath of Supremacy, to both Houses of Parliament, to all corporate bodies, to all lay judicial offices, and to all political offices except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor in England and Ireland, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. This concession was safeguarded by measures suppressing the Catholic Association and minimizing the electoral influence of the Irish Romanist priesthood by raising the Irish freehold franchise qualification from 40s. to £10.

§ 485. **State of Parties at the Death of George IV., June 1830.**—Despite the opposition of the King and of the Anglican clergy, Wellington and Peel had carried their measure; but they had estranged many of their supporters in so doing. They had already quarrelled with the moderate Tories in 1828 over a point of Parliamentary Reform. There had been proposals to disfranchise the pocket boroughs of Penryn and East Retford, and to transfer the seats to Manchester and Birmingham, and the "Canningite" members of the Ministry—Huskisson, Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston, and William Lamb, later Viscount Melbourne—had resigned because their leaders would not support the proposal. These differences of opinion all illustrated the break-up of the Tory party into the elements out of which it had been compounded—those who believed, and those who disbelieved, in the desirability or inevitableness of "reform." In June 1830 George IV. died, and in the following month Charles X. was suddenly expelled from France by the July Revolution. These events marked the collapse of the reactionary movement at home and abroad.

CHAPTER XXVII

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, 1830-1837.

A PERSONAL HISTORY — William Henry, Duke of Clarence, third son of George III., was born August 21, 1765, married Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, 1818; succeeded his eldest brother, George IV (Frederick, Duke of York, having died in 1827), with the title William IV, June 26, 1830; died at Windsor, without surviving issue, June 20, 1837; buried at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. For family connections, see Table, p 198.

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY	FRANCE	SPAIN	AUSTRIA	PRUSSIA	RUSSIA	TURKEY
Pius VIII (1823- 1830) Gregory XVI (1831- 1846)	Revolution of July Louis Philippe (1830- 1848)	Ferdinand VII (1808) Isabella II (1833- 1868)	Francis I. (1804) Ferdinand I (1835- 1848)	Frederick William III (1797- 1840)	Nicholas I (1825- 1855)	Mahmoud II (1808- 1839) Otto, King of Greece (1832- 1862)

C TOPICS OF THE REIGN.

(i) International: relations with—

- (1) France §§ 486, 491, 501, 502.
- (2) Belgium § 486, 491, 501
- (3) Spain § 486, 491, 501.
- (4) Austria § 486, 491, 501.
- (5) Russia 486, 491, 501, 502

(ii) Constitutional.

- (1) Ministries §§ 487, 489, 492, 495, 497, 498
- (2) Parliament §§ 487-490, 496, 499
- (3) Social Reform §§ 492-494, 496, 498-500
- (4) Ireland §§ 490, 492, 495, 500.
- (5) India. §§ 492, 502, 503.

I. THE GREAT REFORM BILL, 1830-1832

§ 486. The Year of Revolution, 1830.—The year of William IV.'s accession was a "year of revolution" in many parts of Europe. In July Charles X. of France was expelled from Paris, and after an interval was succeeded by his distant cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. The new monarch owed his position to popular election

not to the principle of "legitimacy"; and this fact was expressed both by his title "King of the French," and also by his pose of being a "citizen King." The establishment of the July monarchy made revolution infectious. The inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands, who had now assumed the classic name of Belgians, rose against their Dutch masters and were ultimately allowed by the Powers to form an independent Kingdom of Belgium. There were minor movements against the Metternich system in Germany; and further east the Poles rose in revolt against Russia—only to be subjugated in the following year. Quite as revolutionary in their ultimate effects though not involving bloodshed, were two British events in the same year—the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in September (when Huskisson was killed), and the resignation of Wellington in November.

§ 487. **Formation of the Grey Administration, 1830.**—The abolition of anomalous disabilities on the score of religion (1828-9) had left the way clear for the abolition of anomalous privileges in the parliamentary electorate. But Wellington and his friends were not inclined to give way on this point as they had done on the other. During 1830, in fact, Peel had given out as his deliberate opinion the statement that "there was a general representation of the people in the House of Commons, and that the popular voice was sufficiently heard", while his chief had expressed himself as "fully convinced that the country possessed at the present moment a Legislature which answered all the good purposes of legislation, and this to a greater degree than any legislature had ever answered in any country whatever." On the other hand, Lord Grey, the leader of the Whigs in the Upper House, had advocated reform not because those taxed had a right to vote, nor yet because manhood was itself a right to suffrage, but in order "to secure the affections" of the unrepresented classes, and "to reduce their grievances." Grey, in fact, believed that Parliamentary Reform was the only way to avoid such civil wars and tumults as those which were convulsing continental states at the time; and when Wellington resigned in November, Grey formed a Ministry of men who shared his views. Some of his colleagues were Whigs—*e.g.* Lords Althorpe and Durham—and some were Canningites—*e.g.* Palmerston, Melbourne and Goderich, the three Secretaries of State.

§ 488. **First and Second Reform Bills, 1831.**—In March 1831, Lord John Russell, who was in the Ministry but not in the Cabinet, introduced into the House of Commons a Reform Bill which

had the "unanimous consent of the whole Government"; the second reading was carried by a majority of one in the largest house on record (302 to 301); but a little later the Government was defeated in committee and resolved to "appeal to the country." The elections caused intense excitement and resulted in a great increase in the majority of the Government. In June Russell and Stanley introduced a second Bill, which passed the House of Commons in September, but was rejected by the Lords in October. During the autumn recess meetings were held all over the country in favour of the Bill: at one of these, in Birmingham, a resolution was passed not to pay taxes until the Bill became law; at another, in Bristol, riots resulted in the burning of many public buildings and the death or disablement of more than a hundred persons.

§ 489 **Third Reform Bill, January-June, 1832.**—In December 1831 there was introduced a Third Bill, embodying many amendments which had been suggested in the debates on its forerunners, and this passed through the House of Commons before the end of March 1832. Various attempts were made to stop its progress in the House of Lords, and in May the Ministry asked the King to create peers enough to pass the Bill. When he refused, the Ministers resigned; the Duke of Wellington tried to form an administration pledged to a more moderate scheme of reform, but failed; and the King had to take back Grey and his colleagues and promise to create peers or do anything else necessary to carry the Bill through the Lords. Under this pressure, applied by Ministers to King and Lords at the bidding of the masses outside Parliament, the Bill became law in June 1832.

§ 490. **The Reform Acts, 1832**—The English *Reform Bill* was followed by similar Bills dealing with Scotland and Ireland. Their general effect was to redistribute seats according to the existing distribution of the inhabitants (but without provision for future changes) and to put the franchise on a wider and more uniform footing. The principal details may be thus summarized:—

- (1) **REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.** 143 seats are taken away from "rotten boroughs" and given to hitherto unrepresented towns, such as Leeds and Birmingham, to counties, to Ireland (5) and to Scotland (8).
- (ii) **FRANCHISE.** (1) *In Boroughs*, the old and various systems are replaced by a uniform £10 household franchise; (2) *in Counties*, the old freehold voters are supplemented by copyholders, leaseholders, and the more important tenants at will.

§ 491. **Palmerston's Foreign Policy, 1830-1832.**—While most of the members of Lord Grey's Ministry had been fully engaged with their scheme for Parliamentary Reform, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, had been busy attempting to adjust the various revolutionary movements in Europe. Palmerston here acted in the spirit of Canning rather than of Castlereagh or Wellington. He opposed the reactionary policy of Metternich wherever he could—that is to say, roughly, wherever, if it came to fighting, he could make use of the British fleet. Poland and Germany were inaccessible, and accordingly Palmerston could do nothing to save the Polish nationalists or the German constitutionalists from being suppressed by the Emperors of Russia and Austria. But in the West he stood firm for Liberal principles and British interests. In close alliance with Louis Philippe he helped the Belgians to make good their independence, and in the Conference of London, 1831, he fixed with the Western Powers the limits of the new state, and arranged that the King should be Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widower of George IV's popular daughter, the Princess Charlotte. This settlement was ultimately accepted by Russia and Holland. The general trend of Palmerston's policy was in the early years of his Secretaryship to join France in opposition to the Eastern Powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and, on the whole, this policy was continued, whenever France had not conflicting interests, throughout the thirty years of his career as Foreign Minister.

II. THE FIRST TWO REFORMED PARLIAMENTS, 1833-1837.

§ 492. **Abolition of Slavery, 1833.**—By carrying the *Reform Acts* the Ministry was in some ways strengthened, and in others weakened. In the first reformed House of Commons, which met in January 1833, the Tories led by Peel numbered less than one hundred and fifty. But many of the supporters of the Government were not satisfied with the measure of Parliamentary Reform in its final shape and wanted other reforms; and in attempting to meet the wishes of its Radical and Irish supporters the Ministry not only became divided against itself, but also alienated many of its friends. Before it fell to pieces, however, it did a great deal of useful work. In 1833 it passed a *Coercion Act* to enable the authorities to cope with the disorder in Ireland; a new *Bank Charter Act*, according to which the Bank of England was to retain its monopoly of issuing notes within sixty-five miles of London, while the relations between the Government and the Bank

were modified; a new *East India Company Act*, by which the Company was to abandon all commerce and devote itself to the government of India, for which purpose it was subsidized by the State; and an Act for the total suppression of slavery in the Colonies. The planters received as compensation the sum of £20,000,000, and the slaves were to be gradually emancipated: this was later found impracticable, and they were freed entirely at once. This Act caused much trouble in the West Indian slave-holding Colonies, and in South Africa (§ 514).

§ 493. **The First Education Grant, 1833.**—The Act for the Abolition of Slavery was accompanied by measures for the relief and improvement of classes at home whose lot was little better, perhaps even worse, than that of the negro slaves in distant dependencies. One of these instituted the practice of parliamentary grants in aid of the education of the poor: the other continued on a more extensive scale previous attempts to alleviate the hardships of the factory system. During the eighteenth century private individuals like Robert Raikes of Gloucester had started teaching work in a similar spirit to that in which Wesley and Whitefield had begun preaching to the uneducated masses; and early in the nineteenth century two large societies had been founded with the same object. One of these, "The British and Foreign School Society" (1807), comprised Protestants of all denominations. the objects of the other (1811) are sufficiently indicated by its cumbrous title, "The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church." The Whig Ministry in 1833, finding that only one quarter of the children in the land received any schooling, made a grant to help these societies in their work. The original grant was only £20,000 per annum, but it led six years later to an increase, to the beginning of a system of inspection by the State, and to ever-growing conflicts as to what should be the "religious" teaching supported by public money.

§ 494. **Ashley's Factory Act, 1831.**—The other Act of 1833 which inaugurated a new departure by the State sprang from humanitarian motives similar to those which brought about the abolition of slavery, but affected the home country more directly. At the instance of Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, an Act was passed forbidding the employment in factories of children under nine years of age, and limiting the work-time of "children" (between 9 and 13) to forty-eight hours per week, and that of "young persons" (between 13 and 18) to sixty-nine hours a week.

BOOK V.

THE MAKING AND REMAKING OF EMPIRE, 1754-1793.

INTRODUCTION

§ 360. **Retrospect, 1688-1754**—The half-century following the Protestant Revolution of 1688 was occupied with maintaining the principal result of that Revolution—namely the establishment of a Protestant Succession in the three British kingdoms. This task had involved the legislative union of the Protestant kingdoms of England and Scotland, the subjection of the dependent kingdom of Ireland to the English Protestant Ascendancy, the fighting of three great wars against France and Spain, the development of a curious system of party-government, and a political toleration of non-episcopal forms of Protestant church-government which was quite contrary to the traditions of the English State. During this period the course of political events had been largely controlled by constitutional considerations. But we now enter on a period when international and imperial considerations dominate the course of events, when British activity outside the British Isles for the first time rises to a position of acknowledged pre-eminence. George III's domestic struggles against the Whig Oligarchy, important though they be, sink into comparative insignificance beside the fight between Great Britain and France for North America and India and its direct consequence, the American Revolution.

§ 361. **The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.**—When Henry Pelham died in 1754 Great Britain was nominally at peace. But in point of fact there were private wars going on in her distant dependencies in North America and India which, much to the annoyance of the Home Government, developed into open war and became entangled with various hostilities among the great Powers of Europe. The combined conflict has a much less definite label—it is always known from its duration as "The Seven Years' War"—than its immediate predecessor, the so-called "War of the Austrian Succession"; but it was itself much more definite in object and much more decisive in its results. The difference was largely due to the fact that in the latter struggle there were two strong men working together who knew what they wanted and how to get it—

Frederick II. of Prussia, and Pitt, "the Great Commoner." Most of the wars of 1739-1748 had centred in Austria, though there were minor wars going on at the time among the Baltic States and between Great Britain and Spain. But the various contemporary wars which make up the Seven Years' War had two equally important centres of interest, one exclusively European, one mainly maritime and colonial. Almost simultaneously, Great Britain and Prussia became aware that they were being made the objects of hostile schemes by neighbouring Powers—France in the former case, Austria and Russia in the latter case; and in self-defence they sought one another's alliance. Their respective rivals followed their example, but, as they had still less in common than Prussia and Great Britain, their co-operation was never very effective. From a British point of view, the main result of all these complications was this: France chose to throw her whole strength into supporting Austria against Prussia (a quarrel in which she had little direct interest), and so weakened herself for her own struggle against Great Britain, and the consequence was that France lost the remainder of her possessions in North America and was reduced to political impotence in India.

§ 362. **George III.'s Constitutional Experiments, 1760-1770.**—In the middle of the Seven Years' War, George II died and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The new King gratified his subjects by saying that "he gloried in the name of Briton", but what he really gloried in was the name of King. He wanted to restore the Kingship to what he conceived to be its rightful place in the constitution, but being young, inexperienced, and more liberally endowed with will-power than with intellect, he acted with more energy than tact, and sometimes forgot that the Kingship is not an end in itself but a means to an end—the good government of its subjects. He spent the first ten years of his reign in trying to find a minister who would really subordinate himself to his master's will; and in the course of his search he contrived to sacrifice many of the gains made in the Seven Years' War, to arouse the hostility of many persons more deserving of respect than his most conspicuous opponents, Wilkes and "Junius," and to stoop to many political artifices which were no better than those which had been used by his rivals, the heads of the Whig Oligarchy of former days. From this domestic turmoil the King emerged triumphant, but not unsmirched in reputation, with the establishment of Lord North as his chief minister in 1770.

§ 363. The American Revolution, 1765-1783.—It was during North's long ministry (1770-1782) that various disputes between Great Britain and her dependencies reached a climax and began to tend towards settlement in favour of the dependencies. A series of attempts—reasonable in intention but unfortunate in method—to impose taxes on the American Colonists was met by protests on constitutional grounds, by riots and outrages of various kinds, and by armed resistance. The Colonists laid aside their mutual jealousies so far as to join together in declaring themselves independent in July 1776, in the following year they won at Saratoga such a conspicuous success that France deemed it safe to make open alliance with the rebels, and in 1781 the Allies won a decisive victory at Yorktown and thereby practically secured the independence of the Colonies. The American Revolution gave the Irish Parliament a chance of asserting its legislative independence of the Parliament of Great Britain, indirectly it involved Warren Hastings, the first British Governor-General in India, in difficulties from which nothing but his genius could have extricated the East India Company, and it brought about the fall of Lord North and the temporary overthrow of the political system which George III. seemed to have established so successfully.

§ 364. Pitt's Years of Peace, 1783-1793—Great Britain was never in a worse plight than that in which she found herself towards the close of the American Revolution, and her consolation was the not very satisfactory one that her enemies, France, Spain, and the new "United States of America," were in a still worse plight. The Bourbon Powers, by helping the revolted Colonists, were able to do considerable damage to Great Britain; but they obtained little reward for their pains, and were besides brought nearer to national bankruptcy. Moreover, Great Britain had the good fortune to get the start in emerging from the abyss. That was due partly to the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, and partly to the establishment of the younger Pitt as chief Minister (1783-1801). The Industrial Revolution increased the material resources of Great Britain, and Pitt used these resources, during the ten years of peace allowed him, to revive the power of the Executive, to restore national credit, and to carry into effect a number of useful reforms. The result of his labours was to prepare Great Britain for the unprecedented burdens of the Great War in which she was involved through the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and the rise of Napoleon to imperial Power.

The Seven Years' War.

DATE	WEST.	OCEAN AND FRANCE	EAST.
1754.	Gt Meadows (July 2)	NEWCASTLE <i>vice</i> PELHAM	RECALL OF DUPLEX
1755	Braddock beaten (July)	Boscawen in W. Atlantic	Peace between the Br and the Fr. Companies (Jan).
1756, Jan	Br Colonists take Beau-séjour and Gaspereau.		
Apr	.. ..	Fr exped to Minorca.	.. ..
May	Anglo-Fr War decl (17)	Byng to Minorca	.. ..
June		Fr. take Minorca (28)	"BLACK HOLE" of Calcutta (20).
Aug	Mortalm takes Oswego	.. ..	.. ..
Oct	(14)		.. ..
Nov	.. ..	PITT-DEVONSHIRE <i>vice</i>	
1757, Jan		NEWCASTLE	Clive retakes Calcutta (2)
Apr	NEWCASTLE <i>vice</i> PITT.	Br exped to Rochefort	Br take Chandarnagar
May	.. ..	fails	Plassey (23). Er v Beng
June	.. ..	PITT-NEWCASTLE MINY	
July	Br exped to Quebec fails	.. ..	.. ..
Aug.	Fr take Ft Wm Henry	.. ..	.. ..
Sept	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Nov	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Dec	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
1758, Apr	.. ..		Lally to Pondicherry.
May	.. ..	Br take Fort S Louis	Lally takes Ft S David.
June	[take Louisburg (26)	(Senegal)	.. ..
July	Br attack Ticonderoga (8).	Br destroy Cherbourg	.. ..
Aug	Br take Frontenac (27)	and attack S Malo	.. ..
Oct	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Nov	Br. take Ft Duquesne (25)	.. ..	.. ..
Dec	.. ..	Br take Goree	.. ..
1759, Feb	.. ..	.. ..	Fr raise siege of Madras
Apr	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
May	Br take Guadeloupe (1)	.. ..	.. ..
June	Br exped to Quebec start	.. ..	.. ..
July	[FERDINAND VI	Br bombard Havre	.. ..
Aug	CHARLES III, Sp, succ	Lagos (18) Br	.. ..
Sept	Heights of Abraham (13).	.. ..	Br fleet defeated off Trinkamall.
Nov	Br take Quebec (18)	Quiberon (20) Br	Wandiwash (22). Br.
1760, Jan	.. ..	Thurot def off Man (23)	.. ..
Feb	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Sept	Br take Montreal (8)	.. ..	.. ..
Oct	GEORGE III succ. GEORGE	.. ..	.. ..
Nov	II (25)	.. ..	.. ..
1761, Jan	.. ..	.. ..	Br. take Pondicherry
Feb	.. ..	.. ..	Br take Mahé (10)
July	Br take Dominica	Br take Belleisle	.. ..
Aug	"THIRD" BOURBON FAMILY COMPACT (15)	BURE <i>vice</i> PITT	.. ..
Oct	.. ..	SPAIN v PORTUGAL.	.. ..
1762, Jan	BRITAIN v SPAIN (4)	.. ..	.. ..
Feb	Br take Martinique (6)	.. ..	.. ..
May	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
July	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Aug	Br. take Havana (12)	.. ..	.. ..
Oct.	.. ..	Br take Manila (6)	.. ..
Nov			
1763, Feb		PRELIMINARIES FONTAINEBLEAU.	
		PEACE OF PARIS (10) [Fr., Sp., G B, Port]	

CHAPTER XX.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756-1763.

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF GEORGE II.	} See Chapter XVIII.
B CONTEMPORARY RULERS	

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

- | | |
|--|--|
| (i) International relations with— | (ii) Constitutional : |
| | (a) <i>Home Affairs—</i> |
| (1) Austria §§ 373, 374, 379, 382 | (1) Ministers §§ 372, 375, 380. |
| (2) Russia §§ 373, 380 | (2) Monarchs §§ 373, 381 |
| (3) Prussia §§ 373, 374, 376, 380, 382 | (b) <i>Colonial Affairs—</i> |
| (4) France §§ 365-371, 373, 374, 376-379, 381, 382 | (3) North America §§ 370, 371, 372, 376, 377, 381, 382 |
| (5) Spain §§ 379, 381, 382 | (4) India §§ 368-369, 378, 382 |

I THE CAUSES OF THE WAR, 1748-1756.

§ 365. **The General Circumstances of the War**—In examining the conditions which led to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, we have to survey an extremely wide field. It is not sufficient to know something of the leading political personalities of Europe and their dominant motives we must also be acquainted with the geographical and historical conditions of the long submerged rivalries existing between some of these Powers with regard to their possessions and territorial influence outside Europe. It will be convenient to review the past relations between France and Great Britain in India and in North America before passing to consider the international situation in Europe and the constitutional position in Great Britain at the commencement of the Seven Years' War.

§ 366. **European Merchants in India, 1600-1708.**—During the seventeenth century, Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French merchant-companies obtained a foothold in India for purposes of trade. Their objects were purely commercial, and their relations with the native princes were those of tolerated intruders. There had always been considerable competition between the different

national companies, and the English company had often been exposed to competition by its own countrymen. But in 1708 the rival English traders were amalgamated into the united East India Company which for the next hundred and fifty years played an ever-increasing part in Indian affairs. At that time the Company possessed small territories at Madras (1639) and Bombay (1662-8), and had factories or trading stations at Calcutta and various other places. The French Company, which was much more dependent on the State than its British rival, had corresponding stations at Mahé on the Malabar coast, at Pondicherry on the Coromandel coast, and at Chandernagore on the Hugli. About the same time (in 1707) died Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mogul Emperors who for nearly two centuries had been the chief political power in India, and the outlying provinces of the Empire became practically independent—sometimes under Muhammadan Nawábs or Nabobs and sometimes under Hindu rájás, like the Maráthá princes.

§ 367. **First Anglo-French War in Coromandel, 1744-1748**—During the "War of the Austrian Succession," Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, resolved to make use of the native princes to expel the British merchants and establish the French Company as a political Power. The conditions of the Peninsula were more favourable for such a purpose than those obtaining further north. On the West coast the Maráthás, and near the Ganges delta the Nawáb of Bengal proved powerful obstacles to European ambition, but the smaller states in the Deccan, fragments of the decayed Mogul Empire, offered a tempting opportunity. In 1746 Dupleix, aided by a French Fleet under La Bourdonnais, captured Madras, and when the Nizám of the Deccan, the prince in whose territories Madras lay, claimed his share of the booty, he was defeated in a pitched battle at St Thomé. This battle not only gave Dupleix a great reputation, but also first revealed to the world at large the superiority of European troops and native troops (sepoys) drilled by Europeans over the usual native levies. The restoration of Madras to Great Britain at the *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, 1748, deprived Dupleix of the most tangible fruit of his labours but not of his prestige.

§ 368. **Second Anglo-French War in Coromandel, 1748-1754**.—Dupleix used his influence to settle disputed successions to the thrones of the Deccan (capital Haidarábád) and of the Carnatic (capital Arcot) in favour of candidates acceptable to the French. It was clear to Saunders, the able Governor of Madras, that, if French

influence became supreme in South India, the position of the British as traders would become untenable ; and he therefore determined to help one of the defeated candidates who was holding out in Trichinopoly. Not being strong enough to relieve the beleaguered town, he made a diversion ; and with this object Robert Clive, a young employé of the Company, surprised and held Arcot in 1751 Clive's brilliant feat turned the tide ; and, after some years' desultory fighting, the Home Governments interfered and forced the Companies to make peace and to promise not to take part in native quarrels. Dupleix was recalled in 1754, and the peace was formally signed in 1755.

§ 369 **The Black Hole and Plassey, 1756-1757** —About the same time Clive, who had returned to England, was sent back to India, and he found the Company's affairs in a critical posture. Siráj-ud-daulá, the new Nawáb of Bengal, had picked a quarrel with the British merchants in his dominions, captured Calcutta, and imprisoned his one hundred and forty-six captives in a small room, where one hundred and twenty-three died of heat in a single night (June 20, 1756). The Madras Government dispatched Clive northwards to avenge this "Black Hole" tragedy, and the result was that the Nawáb was defeated in a battle at Plassey (June 23, 1757). This victory practically placed the rich province of Bengal at the disposal of the Company, but it was as yet disinclined to take up what a modern Anglo-Indian poet has called "the white man's burden" The Company contented itself with setting up a Nawáb of its own choice, and Clive took care that both the Company and its officials, including himself, should obtain ample rewards for their trouble. The importance of the battle of Plassey lies chiefly in the facts that it freed the Company from its embarrassments in Bengal before the French were in a position to renew their struggle in the South, and that it increased the resources of the Company for that struggle.

§ 370. **European Colonies in North America, 1600-1750.** —During the early part of the seventeenth century, English colonies had been established in New England (Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island), and further south in Virginia and Maryland ; Dutch colonies in the Hudson Valley ; and French colonies in the St. Lawrence Valley (Canada and Acadie) During Charles II's reign, the Carolinas has been founded to compensate Cavaliers, and the Dutch possessions in the intermediate region between New England and Virginia had been captured by England and formed

into the colonies of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania (including Delaware). Somewhat later, towards the close of the seventeenth century, French explorers had pushed up the St. Lawrence, and, travelling overland by various routes, had discovered the Mississippi, and established at its mouth a colony named Louisiana in honour of Louis XIV. Later still, the British had acquired the major part of Nova Scotia in the north at the expense of France (1713), and Georgia in the south at the expense of Spain (1733); but these extensions had all been along the coast. The hinterlands were claimed by France, and about 1750, the French authorities in Canada undertook the effective occupation of their claims by erecting forts along the Ohio Valley. This deliberate attempt to hedge in the British Colonies between the Alleghanies and the sea (probably with a view to their ultimate conquest) alarmed some of the English Colonists and their English Governors; and the result was a kind of private war for some years, analogous to the contemporary war between the British and the French Companies in India.

§ 371.—**Anglo-French Struggle for the Ohio Hinterlands, 1752-1755**—In 1752, Duquesne, the New French Governor of Canada, built a fort called by his name at a commanding point on the River Ohio (where Pittsburg now stands); in 1753 a young Virginian, George Washington, paid him a visit and pointed out courteously that he was trespassing; in 1754 he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the fort; and in 1755 Braddock, a general specially sent out by the British Government, was defeated and slain in making a similar attempt. In the same year Boscawen, the admiral in command of the British Channel Fleet, was instructed to intercept French reinforcements for Canada. Failing in that, he seized French merchantmen by way of retaliation for the occupation of Fort Duquesne. Thus at the very moment when disputes between the British and the French in India were being lulled to sleep, their quarrels were growing in intensity in America and were being brought nearer home.

§ 372. **Newcastle and his Colleagues, 1754-1755**—The British Government for the time being was not particularly competent for handling such questions. Newcastle, the head of the Government, had been for many years the Secretary of State in charge of the Colonies, but he had not even learnt that "Cape Breton was an island." He had had considerable difficulties in finding colleagues, for he wanted men able enough to do the work

adequately and not so able as to cast him into the shade. In particular, he had been troubled to find a man fit to be leader of the House of Commons. Sir Thomas Robinson, his first choice, had been so much ridiculed as a "jackboot" by his more brilliant colleagues, Henry Fox and William Pitt, that he was forced to resign. In November 1755 Fox accepted his office and so incurred the lifelong hostility of Pitt.

§ 373. *Treaties of Westminster and Versailles, 1756.*—The most fertile cause of dissension in ministerial circles was the question of means for defending Hanover against the French attack which appeared imminent. George II wanted to renew the intimate alliance with Austria, but Austria did not respond cordially to his advances. In the course of 1755 various subsidy-treaties for the defence of Hanover were made with German princes and also with Russia; and in January 1756 a similar treaty was made with Prussia. The conclusion of the *Anglo-Prussian Convention of Westminster* caused the protracted negotiations for an alliance between Austria and France to attain sudden completeness in the "First" *Treaty of Versailles*, May 1756. Maria Theresa and her chief minister, Kaunitz, were principally bent on wresting Silesia from Frederick the Great (§ 346); and in this treaty they practically persuaded Louis XV to help them without giving him any advantage in return. In June 1756 the French attacked and captured Minorca, which the British fleet under John Byng failed to relieve, and in August Frederick II invaded Saxony, and thus began the Third Silesian War.

II. THE COURSE OF THE WAR, 1756-1763

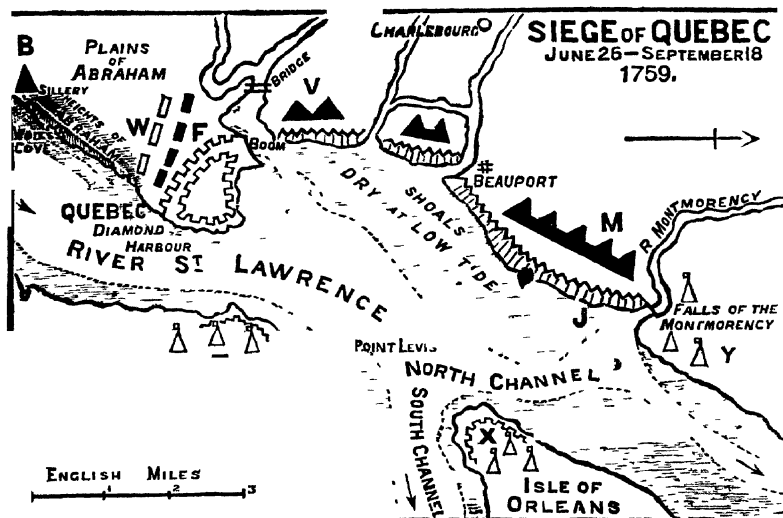
§ 374 *Main Theatres of the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.*—The invasions of Minorca and Saxony marked respectively the recommencement of the old Anglo-French and Austro-Prussian duels; and those duels, connected by the treaties of Westminster and Versailles, form the essence of the Seven Years' War. That war, in its European aspects, consisted of attacks on Prussia by Austria and Russia, with the active help of France and the languid help of Saxony and Sweden: naturally therefore the chief theatres of war were in and around the dominions of Prussia. In its extra-European aspects, the war was a struggle between Great Britain and France (joined by Spain in 1762) for supremacy in North America and India, and as such it was fought out partly in those regions and partly on the connecting seas. The series of campaigns in

which Frederick the Great held his own against overwhelming odds concerned Great Britain only in so far as they helped to divert the attention of France from the struggle in America and Asia, until in those regions she had been hopelessly defeated.

§ 375. The Rise of Pitt to Power, 1756-1767.—Great Britain was ill prepared for war and at first fared badly. The loss of Minorca in 1756, followed by Montcalm's capture of Oswego, the British fortress on Lake Ontario, aroused violent attacks on the Ministry; and in November 1756 Newcastle resigned. He was succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire, with Pitt as Secretary of State. The new Ministry was popular, but it disappointed the unreasonable expectation that it could at once change the course of events. It organized a militia and built forts to protect England from invasion, but its chief offensive operation—an attack by Hawke and Mordaunt on Rochefort—was unsuccessful, and it failed to save Byng from being shot for his failure to relieve Minorca. In April 1757, the King, who had not yet forgiven Pitt for his youthful attacks on Hanover, dismissed the Ministry, and recalled Newcastle. But Newcastle needed something more than a numerical majority in the House of Commons to carry on the war, and in June 1757 he took Pitt into partnership. In this Pitt-Newcastle Administration the Whig Oligarchy—thanks to the genius of Pitt, who was in it but not of it—reached its highest pitch of power and performed its greatest services for the nation.

§ 376 The Campaigns of 1757-1758—For some months the British run of ill-luck continued. In America, an expedition against Quebec proved abortive, and Fort William Henry was taken by the French; in Germany, Cumberland was defeated by the French at Hastenbach in July 1757, and compelled to promise to evacuate Hanover by the *Convention of Klosterseven* (September 1757). But the inspiring energy of Pitt soon began to make itself felt. Casting aside his old prejudices against intervention in Germany, Pitt repudiated the *Convention of Klosterseven*, secured from Parliament a subsidy of nearly three-quarters of a million for Frederick, and he secured from Frederick a competent general, Ferdinand of Brunswick, for the command of the Anglo-Hanoverian army which protected Hanover and Frederick's western frontier from French attack. But Pitt was more interested in the West than in Europe, and supported Prussia merely in order to "win America on the fields of Germany." There also in 1758 British operations were mainly, but not uniformly, successful. In July, Boscawen and

Amherst captured Louisburg; in August, Bradstreet captured Fort Frontenac (now Kingston), and in November Forbes took Fort Duquesne, which was renamed Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg) by the Colonials in honour of the man who understood their needs and was able to pick out the men who could help them.



British and Colonial troops, under Wolfe,
8,000 =

X = Wolfe's First Camp and Batteries,
June 26

Y = Wolfe's Second Camp (evacuated after
the failure of his attack at **J**, July 31)

Z = Wolfe's Third Camp and Batteries

W = Wolfe's Position (with about 8,000
men) at the

French and Canadian troops, under Mont-
calm, 13,000 =

M = Montcalm's Head-quarters during
July

V = Vaudreuil's Head-quarters during
July

B = Bongameville's Detachment, after
Saunders' ships had sailed past Quebec,
July 18

F = Montcalm's Position (with 4,000 men)
at the

Battle of the Heights of Abraham, September 13, 1759

§ 377. **Minden, Lagos, Quebec, Quiberon Bay, 1759.**—The following year, however, was the year of Pitt's greatest triumphs: "it was necessary," says Horace Walpole, "to ask every morning what new victory there was for fear of missing one." The series of victories began with the battle of Minden (August 1), whereby Ferdinand of Brunswick swept the French out of Hanover. A fortnight later Boscawen fell in with the French Toulon fleet off

Lagos in Portugal, and left very little of it to join the Channel squadrons in the projected scheme for the invasion of the British Isles. In November, Hawke treated the Brest fleet in much the same way in a fight off Quiberon. Meanwhile for three weary summer months a British force under Wolfe and Saunders had been hurling itself against Quebec, and then, when most men were beginning to despair, Wolfe hit upon the plan which led to success. On the night before September 13 he scaled the Heights of Abraham, and in the morning defeated Montcalm in a battle which made the surrender of Quebec inevitable. Neither commander lived to see this result, which was followed by the completion of the British conquest of Canada in the surrender of Montreal a year later.

§ 378. Battle of Wandiwash, 1760.—Meanwhile the Anglo-French struggle in India had for some time seemed to be going in favour of the French. A strong French force under Lally arrived in 1758 and promptly took Fort St David. But Lally soon ruined his chances, partly by his ignorance of Indian politics, partly by making himself intolerable to his colleagues and subordinates. His naval colleague, the Count of Aché, sailed away to Mauritius; and when Lally laid siege to Madras, it was relieved by the British fleet (February 1759). Having the command of the sea, the British could readily draw supplies from Bengal, this was one of the reasons why Eyre Coote was able to defeat and capture Lally and Bussy in the decisive battle of Wandiwash, in January 1760. Just a year later Pondicherry fell into the hands of the British; and the hope of French ascendancy in India was at an end.

§ 379. Charles III. and the Third Bourbon Family Compact, 1761.—So far, the Allies of 1756 had been tolerably faithful to their treaty obligations, and the advantage had remained with Great Britain and Prussia. But France had got over her early infatuation for Austria, and was beginning to see that her activity in Germany had been entirely misdirected. The rise of Choiseul to power in France, 1758, and the accession of Charles III. in Spain, 1759, were prominent causes of the slackening of the Austro-French alliance. Charles III., the Don Carlos of former days, was an old enemy of Great Britain; and his accession to the Spanish throne was speedily followed by the renewal of the Bourbon alliance in the great *Family Compact* of August 1761 (cf. §§ 340, 350). Pitt got wind of this treaty and wished to forestall Spanish attacks on Great Britain by attacking Spain; but, being overruled in the Cabinet, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted in October (§ 384).

§ 380. The Breach between Prussia and Great Britain, 1762.—Pitt's resignation was a direct consequence of another change of monarchs. In October 1760 George II. had been succeeded by his grandson, George III., who was eager to bring the war to a close and to get rid of the Ministers who were conducting it. He had introduced his former tutor, the Marquess of Bute, into the Ministry, and Bute had been the King's spokesman in withstanding Pitt's proposals for making war against Spain. Bute's next step was to discontinue paying subsidies to Prussia; and Frederick was saved from ruin only because the Tzarina Elizabeth died in January 1762, and was succeeded, after an interval, by Katharine II., who did not share her predecessor's persistent enmity to Prussia. Thus Bute's sudden change of front did not destroy Prussia, but it eventually harmed Great Britain by offending her one ally in Europe—an ally who might have stood her in good stead in the hour of her sorest need (§§ 407-415)

§ 381 Anglo-Spanish War, 1762-1763.—Bute shook off the burden of the Prussian alliance, but he was not able to avoid the struggle with Spain against which he had previously protested. He was compelled to declare war in January 1762. The Spanish interposition came too late to turn the scale against Great Britain. In the course of 1762 all the remaining French islands in the West Indies were captured by British fleets, and the Spanish colony towns of Havana and Manilla shared their fate. The allied Bourbons were powerless in the face of the maritime supremacy of Great Britain.

§ 382. Peace of Paris, February 1763.—All the Powers concerned were weary of the war, and some had special reasons for bringing it to a close. In February 1763, the Austro-Prussian War was ended by the *Peace of Hubertsburg*, which restored the *status quo*, and the Anglo-Bourbon War was ended by the *Peace of Paris*, which consisted of voluntary restorations on the part of Great Britain and compulsory cessions on the part of France and Spain.

- (i) FRENCH CESSIONS TO GREAT BRITAIN. Canada, Cape Breton Island, Eastern Louisiana (*i.e.* all French territory east of the river Mississippi), Grenada, Senegal, and Minorca (restored)
- (ii) SPANISH CESSIONS TO GREAT BRITAIN. Florida and the right to cut mahogany in Honduras.
- (iii) BRITISH RESTORATIONS TO FRANCE: all territories in India (on condition that they were not to be fortified), Goree, Guadeloupe, and Belleisle (in exchange for Minorca)
- (iv) BRITISH RESTORATIONS TO SPAIN. Cuba and the Philippines

CHAPTER XXI.

GEORGE III'S CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS, 1760-1770

A PERSONAL HISTORY—Eldest of the four sons of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (*d* 1751) and Augusta of Saxe-Coburg, George was born at Norfolk House, London, May 24 (N S, June 4), 1738, succeeded his grandfather, George II, as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover, October 25, 1760, married Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (*d* November 17, 1818), September 8, 1761, crowned at Westminster, September 22, 1761, had nine sons and six daughters, became insane in 1810, died at Windsor, January 29, 1820. For his more important family connections, see Table, p. 198.

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS (to 1789)

PAPACY	EMPIRE	PRUSSIA	FRANCE	SPAIN	POLAND	RUSSIA
Clement XIII (1758)	Francis I (1745)	Frederick II (1740)	Louis XV (1715)	Charles III (1759)	Augustus III (1733-1763)	Elizabeth (1741)
Clement XIV (1769)	Joseph II (1765-1790)				Stanislaus Augustus (1764-1795)	Peter III (1762)
Pius VI (1775-1800)		Frederick William II (1760-1797)	Louis XVI (1774-1792)	Charles IV (1788-1808)	Partitions, (1772-1795)	Katharine II (1762-1796)

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD.

(i) International: *relations with*—

- (1) France §§ 386, 389, 391.
- (2) Spain §§ 386, 389, 391
- (3) Prussia §§ 386, 389, 391
- (4) Bengal § 394

(ii) Constitutional.

- (1) King and Ministers §§ 383-386, 388-393
- (2) Wilkes §§ 386, 393
- (3) India §§ 391, 394
- (4) America §§ 387, 390, 391.

I BUTE, GRENVILLE AND WILKES, 1760-1765.

§ 383. George III's Character and Policy—George III's accession effected great changes in both the international and the constitutional position of Great Britain. He differed from his two predecessors of the House of Guelf in being British in birth and education; and the consequence of this was that he paid more attention to his island realm than to his continental electorate (which

he never took the trouble to visit), and in being more interested in home affairs than in foreign affairs. His mother, the Princess of Wales, and her friend, the Marquess of Bute, impressed upon him that it was his duty to "be a King," and to carry out the programme sketched by Bolingbroke in his pamphlet, *The Patriot King*. In other words, he meant to choose his own ministers and to dictate his own policy, and, in order to do this, he must needs overthrow the Whig Oligarchy which had domineered over the first two Georges.

§ 384 **Fall of the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry, 1761-1762.**—His first step was to appoint his old tutor, Bute, Secretary of State, in order that he might represent the King's personal views in the Cabinet. The consequence was the speedy break-up of the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry. Pitt resigned in October 1761, because his colleagues refused to accept his decision that war against Spain was necessary. Newcastle resigned in May 1762, because he was no longer allowed to exercise the patronage of the Crown. Bute, who succeeded Newcastle as First Lord of the Treasury, was not well qualified by experience to act as head of the Government, and his Scottish origin and his intimacy with the Princess of Wales (upon which the worst construction was put) made him unpopular. With the help of Henry Fox, and with the prestige and the patronage of the Crown behind him, George III. set himself to build up a party of his own, to support his measures in Parliament. This party was drawn partly from the Whigs, some of whom favoured the Prerogative, but mainly from the Tories, who saw that Jacobitism was dead; it became known as "the King's Friends"; and it formed the nucleus of the new Tory party of the future.

§ 385. **Bute's Administration, 1762-1763.**—The principal events of Bute's short-lived Administration were the Spanish War, the desertion of Prussia, and the negotiation of the *Peace of Paris*. Bute, like Bolingbroke half a century before (1713), let off a beaten foe lightly in order to have leisure for carrying out changes at home; and like Bolingbroke, he was hotly attacked for making peace on terms less favourable than the circumstances warranted. Frightened by his unpopularity, Bute resigned in April 1763, and was succeeded by George Grenville.

§ 386 **Wilkes and the North Briton, 1763.**—Amongst Bute's most out-spoken critics was John Wilkes, a M.P. and a brilliant but disorderly man of fashion, whose paper, the *North Briton*, was, in both title and contents, a jibe at Bute's nationality. In No. 45 of this paper, issued in April 1763, the King's Speech

describing the Peace was criticized in such terms that Lord Halifax, Secretary of State, issued a general warrant for the arrest of its authors, printers, and publishers, on the charge of uttering a seditious libel. The charge may have been reasonable enough, but the methods adopted gave the opponents of the Government an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage. Wilkes, who was one of the persons arrested under the warrant, became a popular hero, the judges set him at liberty on the ground of his privilege as a member of Parliament, and this impartial decision carried more weight than the party vote of the House of Commons that privilege did not protect a member from the penalties due for libel. Wilkes was soon afterwards outlawed for printing indecent literature at his private press; but a few years later both he and others obtained damages for unlawful imprisonment under the general warrant. Altogether, the affair cost the Government over £100,000 in money, and did it an incalculable amount of harm in prestige. Wilkes and his supporters sedulously fostered the popular impression that the King and the Parliament were engaged in a conspiracy against the "Rights of the People."

§ 387. George Grenville's Administration, 1763-1765.—The Wilkes affair was the most notorious event during George Grenville's Administration, but his attempt to tax the American Colonies was the most important. That attempt will be discussed later (§ 401), but its connection with the general attitude of the Government may be shown here. The attack on Wilkes and the *Stamp Act* of 1765 were in themselves natural and defensible attempts to assert the authority of the Government; but they were performed in such a way that they called forth the bitter hostility of the unrepresented classes in England and America. George Grenville, like his master, was honest and well-meaning, but deficient in the higher qualities of statesmanship. In particular, he had a lawyer-like belief in the strength of legal rights, which stands in marked contrast to the attitude of Walpole and Chatham, the most successful statesmen of the eighteenth century. But while he was at one with George III. as to the proper relations between the governing and the governed classes, they fell out as to the proper relations that should subsist among the governors themselves. George III. thought that his Ministers should be what their name imports—servants to do his bidding: Grenville, a "Whig Royalist," thought that the Ministers should have a mind of their own—showing deference, but not subservience, to the King.

§ 388. **The Regency Bill, 1765.**—This difference of opinion became more marked after George III had been compelled to obtain the support of the Whig group headed by the Duke of Bedford, known at the time as the "Bloomsbury Gang." Bedford himself became President of the Council in succession to Grenville, and a secretaryship was given to the Earl of Sandwich. This Grenville-Bedford Ministry fell in the summer of 1765, not because it was unpopular but because its dictatorial conduct offended the King. Early in 1765 George became insane for a time; and on his recovery it was thought well to make arrangements for a regency in case he should again fall ill. The ministers proposed to exclude the Princess of Wales from becoming Regent under the measure introduced into Parliament; and George, offended by the slight put upon his mother, began to look out for more tolerable ministers.

§ 389. **George in Search of a Ministry, 1765.**—George III. and Bute had some time since discovered their mistake in quarrelling with Pitt. The "Great Commoner" was not himself a member of any of the great Whig families—though he was allied by marriage to the Grenvilles—and had small sympathy with their endeavour to keep the government exclusively in their own hands. On the contrary, he believed that the government should be directed by the King in such a way as to secure the hearty support, and not merely the passive acquiescence, of the nation irrespective of party; and he showed so much deference to the King that "when he bowed to him his hooked nose could be seen between his crooked legs." Overtures had already been made to him on Bute's resignation, and now they were repeated when a successor was wanted to Grenville. On the former occasion he had declined office because he was not allowed to choose his own colleagues. On the present occasion the negotiations broke down partly because Pitt could not persuade Earl Temple to join him, and partly because his stipulations for a renewal of the Prussian alliance in opposition to the *Family Compact* were not agreeable to the King. The course of British history might have been very different had George III. and Pitt been able to come to terms at this juncture.

II. ROCKINGHAM, GRAFTON, AND JUNIUS, 1765-1770.

§ 390. **Rockingham's Ministry, July 1765-July 1766.**—Unable to secure the aid of Pitt, George was compelled to fall back on the main body of the Whigs. Their leader, the Marquess of Rockingham, became First Lord of the Treasury, and Newcastle and

Grafton were amongst his colleagues. Rockingham himself is chiefly important because he introduced into politics Edmund Burke, a young Irishman who was destined to make his mark on British political thought. Rockingham's Ministry was chiefly important for endeavours to undo part of the work of its predecessors: it got the House of Commons to pass a resolution accepting the judge's opinion that general warrants were illegal, and it repealed Grenville's American *Stamp Act* as a matter of expediency. The King secretly opposed his own Ministers, and, after weakening them till they were barely able to carry on the government, he dismissed them and called in Pitt

§ 391. **Chatham's Ministry, 1766-1768** — Pitt was no longer the man he had been during his first Ministry his health was giving way; and though he formed the Ministry and planned an ambitious policy, he was unable to exercise any effective control over the conduct of affairs. Instead of taking his old part as Secretary and leader of the House of Commons, he took the unimportant office of Lord Privy Seal, and retired to the House of Lords with the title of Earl of Chatham. He had large schemes for renewing war on the Bourbons in alliance with Prussia and for reforming the political administration of the East India Company in India. In his absence through ill-health, his colleagues supported and carried a fresh Bill for taxing America devised by the brilliant but shallow Chancellor of the Exchequer. Charles Townshend. Townshend died in September 1767, before the ill effects of this rash measure became manifest, and was succeeded by Lord North, and a year later Chatham formally withdrew from the Ministry and left the headship to the First Lord of the Treasury, the Duke of Grafton.

§ 392. **Burke and Junius, 1768-1770.** — Grafton possessed the confidence neither of the King nor of the Commons, nor of the masses outside political circles. He and his colleagues were the subject of virulent attacks in the famous letters which the mysterious "Junius" contributed to a paper called the *Public Advertiser*; and they were also attacked in more decorous language by Burke, whose *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* (1770) condemned with philosophic calm George III.'s theory and practice of government, especially his habit of following the advice of others than his responsible ministers

§ 393. **Wilkes and the Middlesex Election, 1768-1769.** — The Ministry also became entangled in another contest with Wilkes, and again obtained a formal victory at the expense of a

practical failure In 1768 Wilkes had come back to England, and was returned as member for Middlesex in the General Election of that year. He was thrice rejected by the House of Commons as disqualified for sitting under his recent sentences, and thrice elected by the Middlesex electors. On the third occasion (1769) he had an opponent, Colonel Luttrell, who was accepted by the House of Commons on the ground that votes cast in favour of his rival were invalid. The dispute created great excitement throughout the country; men who ordinarily took no part in politics formed societies, attended public meetings, and signed petitions in favour of Wilkes and the "Rights of the People"; and this agitation is generally considered to mark the birth of modern Radicalism. George stood by the Ministry in its fight against Wilkes, but he thwarted it in other respects, and in January 1770 Grafton resigned his position and made way for his principal colleague, Lord North. North was a man after George's own heart, and he was therefore able to retain office for twelve years (ch. xxii.)

§ 394. **Clive's Second Governorship of Bengal, 1765-1767** — While these parliamentary squabbles were going on at home Clive had been doing great things in India. During his absence from Bengal (1760-1765) the British Governors had quarrelled with the new Nawáb, Mir Kásim, he had retaliated by massacring Europeans at Patna, and, after being defeated by Major Munro at Buxar (October 23, 1764), he had been deposed. The battle of Buxar had more important consequences than the better-known battle of Plassey. Clive now made up his mind that quarrels between British officials and native rulers in Bengal could be avoided only if the Company took a greater share of power and responsibility. Accordingly, the *Treaty of Allahábad*, August 1765, arranged that the Company was to act as Diwán, or Treasurer, on behalf of the Nawáb of Bengal: the Company was to collect the taxes (about £2,000,000 per annum), and keep about half the total amount for itself, handing over the balance to the Nawáb and his suzerain, the Great Mogul. As far as possible, native officials were employed in the actual work of collecting the taxes, and every attempt was made to disguise the installations of the Company as a territorial power. Clive also tried to check the rapacity of British officials by securing them larger salaries and by forbidding the receipt of gifts from natives. When he returned to England the House of Commons, after listening to attacks on his honesty, formally declared that Clive "had rendered meritorious services to his country."

The American Revolution.

GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

DATE.	NORTHERN COLONIES.	SOUTHERN COLONIES.	GREAT BRITAIN.
1754.	Fr. build Ft Duquesne.	FRANKLIN'S ALBANY	NEWCASTLE <i>vice</i> PELHAM.
1759.	Br. take Quebec.	[PLAN OF UNION.	Br. Sea Victories.
1760.	.. ..	.. ..	GEORGE III.
1761.	<i>Writs of Assistance Case</i>	.. ..	BUTE <i>vice</i> PITT.
1763.	[Pontiac War.	P. OF PARIS (Feb. 10)	GREENVILLE <i>vice</i> BUTE.
1764.	Bushy Run ends the	.. ..	Stamp duties mooted.
1765.	STAMP ACT	CONGRESS.	Stamp Act. ROCKINGHAM
1766.	.. ..	.. ..	Stamp Act rpld. CHAT'M
1767.	.. ..	.. ..	Townshend's Duties Act.
1768.	British troops to Boston.	.. ..	GRAFTON <i>vice</i> CHATHAM.
1769.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
1770.	Boston Massacre (Mar 5)	.. ..	NORTH <i>vice</i> GRAFTON
1771.	[June 10]	.. ..	[(Jan)
1772.	Burning of <i>The Caspée</i>	Comm. of Correspond-	.. ..
1773.	Boston Tea Party (Dec. 16)	fence	.. ..
1774, June	FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.	.. ..	North's "Intolerable
Oct.	DECLARATION OF RIGHTS	(14)	["Acts."
1775, Apr.	Gage <i>vice</i> Hutchinson.	.. ..	General Election.
May	Lexington (19) A. [(10)	Howe <i>vice</i> Gage	.. ..
June	Ticonderoga taken by A.	2nd Continental Congress	.. ..
Dec.	Bunker Hill (17) Br.	Washington appointed	.. ..
Dec.	Quebec (31) Br	IC in-C (15)	.. ..
1776, Mar.	Br. evac. Boston (17).	End of New England War-Section.	.. ..
June	.. ..	Ft. Moultrie (28). A	.. ..
July	DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (4)	.. ..	.. ..
Aug.	Brooklyn Heights (27) Br	[Philadelphia	.. ..
Sept	Br. take New York (15)	and advance towards	.. ..
Dec.	.. ..	Trenton (25) A.	.. ..
1777, Jan.	.. ..	Princeton (3) A. ?	.. ..
July	Br occ Ticonderoga (5)	.. ..	.. ..
Aug.	Oriskany (6), Bennington	(16) A. [(26)	.. ..
Sept.	Bemis Heights (19). A.	Br, occ Philadelphia	.. ..
Oct.	SURRE OF SARATOGA (17)	Germantown (4). Br.	End of Central War-
1778, June	Monmouth (28). Br. defeated during retreat	Death of Chatham (May)	.. ..
July	Ind. Raid on Wyoming	[from Philadelphia	.. ..
Dec	[Vall (3)	Br. take Savannah (29)	.. ..
1779, July	Stony Point seized by A.	[retake Savannah (9).	.. ..
Oct.	[(15)	Fr.-Amer. force fails to	.. ..
Sept.	G R Clarke's Cam-	Paul Jones's Vict off Flamborough (23).	.. ..
1780, May	paigns on Western	Br take Charleston (12)	.. ..
Aug	Frontier	Camden (16) Br.	Gordon Riots, etc.
Sept.	Treason of Arnold.	.. ..	.. ..
Oct.	.. ..	King's Mountain (7) . A.	.. ..
1781, Jan	.. ..	Cowpens (17) A. [Br	.. ..
Mar.	.. ..	Gulldford Courthase (15)	.. ..
Apr.	.. ..	Hobkirk's H. (25) drawn	.. ..
Sept	.. ..	Eutaw Springs (8) drawn	.. ..
Oct	.. ..	SURRENDER OF YORK-	[War-Section.
1782, Mar.	.. ..	.. [TOWN (19): A.	End of Southern
July	.. ..	.. ..	ROCKINGHAM <i>vice</i> NORTH.
Nov.	Preliminaries of Peace (30) [Gr. Br ,	US A]	INGHAM (d. l.)
1783, Apr.	.. ..	.. ..	PORTLAND <i>vice</i> SHEL
Sept.	PEACE OF VERSAILLES (3) [Gr. Br.,	US A.]	[BURN.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1765-1783.

- A. PERSONAL HISTORY OF GEORGE III. }
B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS } See Chapter XXI.

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

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| (i) International: Relations with— | (ii) Constitutional. |
| (1) France §§ 396, 407-409, 413-415 | (1) Ministries §§ 395, 401, 410, 415 |
| (2) Spain §§ 396, 400, 407, 408, 414, 415 | (2) Parliament §§ 395, 397, 401, 402, 410, 411 |
| (3) Baltic Powers §§ 396, 412 | (3) Ireland §§ 407, 410 |
| (4) United Netherlands §§ 412, 415 | (4) India §§ 398, 409, 414, 415 |
| (5) United States §§ 405-408, 413, 415 | (5) American Colonies: §§ 397, 399-405. |

I LORD NORTH AND THE EAST, 1770-1773

§ 395. **Lord North's Constitutional Position, 1770-1782.**—During the first ten years of George III.'s reign seven different "administrations" may be distinguished, whereas Lord North's administration lasted twelve years. North was assuredly not a much abler man than his predecessors, nor was his task much lighter, nor did he perform his work with greater success—for the latter part of his Ministry was one of the gloomiest periods of British History. What then is the reason for the marked contrast between the first and the second decades of George III.'s reign? The answer is, that North had the King's support, and, having his support, had also his "influence," which enabled him to maintain his hold over the House of Commons. George had successfully pitted the different sections of the Whigs against one another till they had no strength left except for opposition, and had made his own party of King's Friends the strongest of the party-groups. North had the knack of managing the House of Commons, and he managed it with the prime object of getting the King's orders obeyed. For convenience' sake he is made to figure in the roll of British "prime ministers," but his strength lay in the fact that he was not a "prime minister" in the same sense as Walpole or the Pitts.

§ 396. Lord North's International Position, 1770-1772.—On Grafton's resignation, George III practically had to choose between North and Chatham. It is possible that had Chatham been selected, the breach with the American Colonies might have been postponed, but, on the other hand, it is probable that he would have plunged the country into international complications. There were various things happening in Europe which might have caused the renewal of war between Great Britain and the Bourbons. In 1766 France acquired Lorraine under the treaty of 1735; in 1768 she bought the right of conquering the island of Corsica from the Republic of Genoa, and in 1769 Spain expelled a British garrison from the Falkland Islands. There were many who wished Great Britain to withstand in arms these "encroachments" of the House of Bourbon. Further east, the death of Augustus III, King of Poland, in 1763 led to troubles not altogether dissimilar to those attending the death of his predecessor thirty years before, but ending in a quite different way—namely, in the First Partition of Poland in 1772 between Austria, Prussia and Russia. The exclusion of Chatham from office was one of the reasons why Great Britain abstained from trying to check the aggrandisement of France and the Eastern Powers, and France, though constantly preparing for vengeance against her successful maritime rival, followed the example of abstention set by Great Britain and refused to help Spain in the Falkland Islands. North was therefore able, in the early days of his ministry, to reinstate the British garrison.

§ 397. King, Parliament and Press, 1770-1772—North began his ministry with a measure of conciliation which kept affairs in America quiet for a short time, and before the threatened storm burst there, some notable things took place nearer home. In 1770 Grenville carried an Act which transferred the decision of election petitions from the whole House of Commons (where they were treated as party questions pure and simple) to a committee of the House pledged to treat the cases judicially. In the following year the House of Commons plunged into another dispute with Wilkes, and was again practically beaten. The Commons desired to preserve their privilege of Secrecy of Debate from infringement by the publication of reports of their debates and proceedings; and with this object they imprisoned printers who had published reports. Wilkes and other magistrates of the City of London successfully fought for the Liberty of the Press in this respect, and so made it possible for the outside public to have more exact knowledge of

what went on in Parliament. While Parliament was thus compelled to become less mysterious and exclusive, the Kingship became more exclusive. In 1772 North passed a *Royal Marriage Act* which made it illegal for any descendant of George III. to contract a valid marriage before the age of twenty-five without the consent of the reigning monarch.

§ 398. **North's Regulating Act, 1773.**—More important was the Act which North passed in 1773 for the regulation of Indian affairs. Despite the territorial acquisitions and administrative reforms of Lord Clive, the East India Company had got into debt and had acquired an evil reputation through the rapacity of its officials. Stories of the devastation wrought by a great famine in Bengal, in 1770, reached the home country and made men's consciences uneasy, and the result was the passing of the *Regulating Act*, which appointed a Governor-General in Bengal having general power of supervision over all other British officials in India but responsible to the Home Government. The Act itself was well meaning but weak: fortunately for Great Britain, however, Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General appointed thereby, was well meaning and strong.

II LORD NORTH AND THE WEST, 1773-1777.

§ 399. **English Colonies in North America, 1607-1733.**—The *Regulating Act* was accompanied by a measure, intended to benefit the finances of the East India Company, which directly led to the outburst of the American Revolution. In order to understand that movement, it is necessary to know something of the nature and diversity of the English colonies in America, and especially how, after a century and a half of "wise and salutary neglect," they became the objects of an unwelcome solicitude on the part of the Home Government. The older English colonies in North America—that is, all except the colonies acquired from France by the treaties of 1713 and 1763, fall naturally into three groups (Table, p. 170; Map, p. 222). (1) the New England colonies, Puritan in origin and sentiment, accustomed to a far greater degree of self-government in their town-meetings and colonial legislatures than was even dreamt of in the Mother Country, (2) the Middle Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and its enclave Delaware, consisting mainly of lands captured from the Netherlands and largely settled by Dutch and Germans; and (3) the Southern Colonies from Maryland to Georgia, mainly settled by planters who cultivated

tobacco, sugar-cane, and other sub-tropical crops with the help of slave labour, and as aristocratic in tone as the New Englanders were democratic. These colonies were not only diverse in origin, but also (as they still are) divergent in interests: they had been slow to act together against the French; and they were now still slower to act together against Great Britain.

§ 400. The Colonies and the Mother Country, 1660-1763.

—These colonies stood in somewhat vague relations towards the Mother Country. They had, for the most part, owed their foundation to private enterprise: the Home Government had done little to help them, and had usually taken but little interest in their doings. They were scarcely regarded as integral parts of the State, but rather as outlying properties useful as a market for English manufactures, and as a source of supply of produce which could not be grown at home. Various Navigation Acts passed after the Restoration had limited the industries and commerce of the colonies in the supposed interests of the Mother Country, and the Colonists had shown outward respect for these Acts, while evading them in practice by carrying on a smuggling trade, especially with the neighbouring colonies of Spain.

§ 401. The Question of Imperial Taxation, 1765-1773 —

Alarmed at the expense of the Seven Years' War, and realizing the reasonableness of getting the Colonies to contribute something towards the cost of their own defence, Grenville passed a *Stamp Act* in 1765, which required Americans to pay fees for the stamping of certain kinds of documents in order that they might be recognized as legally binding. The proceeds were to be used for the maintenance of a colonial military establishment; but this fact did not distract criticism. Representatives of several of the colonies met in Congress at New York to protest against the imposition of internal taxes by a Parliament in which they were not represented. Pitt supported the claims of the Colonists on constitutional grounds. Burke made his maiden speech in Parliament in support of their claims, but on the ground of expediency. To lull the storm, Rockingham repealed the *Stamp Act* in 1766, but at the same time he passed a *Declaratory Act* asserting the right of the British Parliament to "bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever." In 1767 Townshend took advantage of Chatham's absence through illness to pass an *American Import Duties Act*, imposing duties on glass, red lead, painters' colours, paper, tea, etc. These duties differed from those which had been imposed by the old Navigation Acts only in being

levied not for the regulation of trade but for the raising of revenue ; and they were on that ground resented by the Colonists. In 1770 North abolished all the taxes, except that on tea—which was retained simply to uphold the rights of the British Parliament. Three years later North hit on a happy idea of enriching both the American Colonies and the East India Company by allowing the latter to carry tea to America without paying the British home duties.

§ 402. North's "Intolerable Acts," 1774.—There was a wide-spread impression among the Colonists that this boon of cheap tea was merely an attempt to bribe them into abandoning their principle, "*No Taxation without Representation.*" Accordingly, in December 1773 a band of Massachusetts citizens boarded some tea-ships lying in Boston harbour and emptied the tea-chests into the sea. This "Boston Tea-Party," coming as it did on the top of many outrages against "law and order," roused the British Government to measures of repression. In the spring of 1774 North passed the measures which the Americans dubbed "The Intolerable Acts." The *Boston Port Act* closed the port of Boston until its inhabitants should compensate the East India Company for the tea, the *Massachusetts Government Act* annulled the charter of the Colony and placed it under martial law, the *Transportation Act* gave British officers charged with murder in Massachusetts the right to demand trial in Britain; and the *Quebec Act* annoyed the Puritan New Englanders by recognizing Roman Catholicism as the established religion in Canada, and by including the Ohio Valley within the limits of that province.

§ 403. Lexington and Bunker Hill, 1775.—These measures were promptly met by fresh preparations for resistance in America. Massachusetts set up a provincial assembly at Concord, near Boston, in the room of its ejected assembly, and organized a force of militia known as "Minute Men." All the Colonies, except Georgia, sent representatives to a "First Continental Congress" at Philadelphia, and expressed their sympathy with Massachusetts in the *Declaration of Rights*, whereby they claimed the rights of representation, self-taxation, free discussion, and local juries. The determined attitude of the Colonists, coupled with the diminution of the Anglo-American trade, caused the Home Government to unbend a little, and early in 1775 North proposed that the British Parliament should relinquish its claims to tax any American colony which would promise to support its own civil and military establishment. But before the news of this proposal had reached America the first battle had been

fought. In April 1775 Gage, the Governor of Boston, sent a force to destroy ammunition collected at Concord; and on its way back this force was attacked by Colonials at Lexington and driven into Boston with heavy loss. In June the Massachusetts militia occupied some of the high ground commanding Boston on the north side; and were expelled with difficulty after a long day's fight known as the battle of Bunker Hill. In the autumn the Colonies presented an *Olive Branch Petition*, which the King refused to receive on the technical ground that it proceeded from an unlawful assembly.

§ 404. **The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.**—The early leaders of American discontent—such as Patrick Henry of Virginia, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, and even Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania—had not been above suspicion on the score of motive, but George Washington of Virginia, who became commander-in-chief of the "Continental Army" in 1775, stands on the same moral and political level as King Alfred himself. For a long time, however, he was fully occupied with putting his ragged troops in order; and the earlier aggressive movements of the Americans were conducted by others. In the autumn of 1775, for instance, Richard Montgomery took Montreal and joined Benedict Arnold in an unsuccessful attack on Quebec. This defeat practically decided that the sometime-French Colonies in the St. Lawrence Valley were not to join the older English Colonies on the eastern littoral. In March 1776 Washington won his first military triumph against the British troops by occupying Dorchester Heights, and thus compelling Sir William Howe, Gage's successor, to evacuate Boston. Howe returned to Halifax to await reinforcements brought by his brother, Admiral Lord Howe, and with these he proceeded in June to establish himself at the mouth of the Hudson. The fact that the new troops consisted largely of Hessians and other German troops hired to serve under the British flag infuriated the Americans in much the same way as their ancestors in England had sometimes been infuriated by the use of "foreign mercenaries." The result of this annoyance—sedulously fanned into flame by Tom Paine's *Common Sense*—was the issue of the *Declaration of Independence* by the Second Continental Congress, July 4, 1776.

§ 405. **Party Aspects of the Conflict.**—Hitherto the Colonists had been struggling for what they believed to be their rights under the government of George III.: henceforth they claimed to be an independent state. But in all three stages of the conflict—constitutional agitation, civil war, and "foreign war"—the Americans were

divided not merely by colonies but also by parties. There were many "loyalists" who, though not always approving of George III.'s policy, believed that the points at issue could be settled amicably: these were known as "Tories." Their more strenuous opponents were known as "Whigs," and were generally supported by the Whigs in Great Britain itself—such as Chatham, Burke, and a brilliant newcomer in politics, Charles James Fox.

§ 406. **Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga, October 1777.**—The British Tories were determined to suppress rebellion, and a grand combination was arranged in 1777. Sir John Burgoyne and other commanders were to march from Canada by various routes and converge on the upper Hudson, where they were to be met by a detachment of Howe's force. The combination failed to work. Howe, who had occupied New York in August 1776, spent the summer of 1777 in occupying Philadelphia, and though he and his colleagues were usually successful against Washington, they had no troops to spare for operations on the Hudson. Consequently Burgoyne, who had advanced southwards *via* Lake Champlain, was surrounded by overwhelming numbers and compelled to surrender at Saratoga (October 17, 1777).

III. THE BOURBON INTERVENTION, 1778-1783.

§ 407. **Franco-American Alliance, 1778**—Burgoyne's surrender was the great turning-point in the American Revolution, for it immediately led to the intervention of the Bourbon Powers, without whom the Americans could hardly have been successful in maintaining their independence. The French Government, headed by Vergennes, had throughout secretly supported the American insurgents; but early in 1778 it ventured to make open alliance with them as an independent State. The inevitable result was the outbreak of war between France and Great Britain, and in 1779 Spain joined in the war. Neither France nor Spain cared a straw for the Americans (though many individual Frenchmen were their enthusiastic partisans), and Spain was naturally unable to sympathize with colonial rebellion, but they were eager to punish Great Britain for her successes in the Seven Years' War. They obtained their revenge, but at a cost more ruinous to themselves than to their adversary. The Bourbon intervention diverted the main interest of the war from land to sea, from America to Europe; and it was directly responsible for the rise of serious troubles in India and Ireland.

§ 408. Maritime Operations, 1778-1780 —In 1778 Chatham while demanding at once reconciliation with the Colonies and vigorous war against their French allies, sank down in a swoon and was borne home to die. His death destroyed the last faint flicker of hope for a conciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies, except on the basis of American independence. But at the outset French intervention did not seem to bring the latter much nearer. It is true that Howe's successor, Sir Henry Clinton, evacuated Philadelphia; but on the other hand, he started operations in the south, by sending a force to occupy Savannah in Georgia, and he defeated the attempt of a Franco-American expedition upon New York. But after all the result of the conflict necessarily depended on the command of the sea, and there the conditions were much more equal than they had been at the close of the Seven Years' War. In July 1778 Keppel and Palliser only just held their own in a fight off Ushant, in 1779 a joint French and Spanish fleet swept the Channel unopposed, and Spain began her most determined attempt to recover Gibraltar, and in 1780 Rodney, on his way out to the West Indies, defeated a Spanish fleet off St. Vincent and relieved Gibraltar. In the capture of outlying possessions in the West Indies and elsewhere, France was as successful as Great Britain.

§ 409. Warren Hastings in India, 1773-1782 —The outbreak of war between Great Britain and France added to the many difficulties against which Warren Hastings was struggling manfully in India. Though hampered at every turn by factious opposition in his Council, Hastings had put the administration of Bengal into good order during his five years of peace and was now, during his five years of external struggles, to save British dominion in India from overthrow by native princes, egged on by France. The desire of the Bombay Government to obtain Salsette and Bassein involved it in the First Maráthá War (1778-1782), from which it was extricated only by the generals sent by Hastings across India against the powerful Maráthá princes, Sindhia and Holkar. At the same time the Madras Government became exposed to the vigorous attacks of Haider Ali, the Muhammadan ruler of Mysore (1778-1784). This first Mysore War arose partly out of the seizure of the French towns of Pondicherry and Mahé in 1778-9 (§ 407). Haider Ali burst into the Carnatic in 1780 and defeated Munro, but he was himself defeated in the battles of Porto Novo and Pohllore, 1781, by the veteran Sir Eyre Coote, whom Hastings had sent to the rescue. Fortunately for Hastings and his country, the crisis was passed before the

arrival of a French squadron under Suffren ; and Suffren, the ablest French admiral of the eighteenth century, found his skill neutralized by the bull-dog tenacity of the British admiral, Sir Edward Hughes. The long struggle against the French and their native allies had to be maintained without any substantial help from the Home Government, and sheer necessity drove Hastings to those questionable means of raising money which have prevented the undisputed acknowledgement of his greatness.

§ 410. **Henry Grattan and the Irish Volunteers, 1779-1782.**—The Bourbon intervention also brought the constitutional agitation in Ireland to a climax and gave the agitators the opportunity to have their own way. It was necessary to denude Ireland of troops in order to use them against foreign foes, and in 1779 the British Government authorized the formation of a force of Protestant volunteers for internal defence. The Volunteers supported the demands for economic reforms which were advocated by Henry Grattan ; and as these demands were reasonable in themselves, and were made, in a manner which involved little disrespect to the Crown, by a legally constituted body that the Crown had no power to resist, they were speedily and fully granted. In 1780 Lord North granted a measure of "Free Trade"—removing restrictions on the woollen industry and commercial intercourse between Ireland and the Colonies which had been imposed in the interests of British commercial classes. In 1782, North's successor, Rockingham, conceded the demand for legislative autonomy by permitting the Irish Parliament to repeal *Poyning's Law* of 1495, and by causing the British Parliament to repeal its *Declaratory Act* of 1719.

§ 411. **The Gordon Riots, 1780**—The relief granted to Ireland did not extend to the disfranchised Roman Catholic majority, nor did it involve any purification of the Irish Parliament. But there was meanwhile going on in Britain itself a determined attempt to alleviate the lot of Roman Catholics and to improve the working of Parliament. In 1778 Savile procured the repeal of the anti-Romanist Act of 1700 ; but the attempt to pass a similar measure for Scotland led to a widespread agitation. Lord George Gordon put himself at the head of a mob which shouted "No Popery !" and which had London at its mercy for some days in June 1780, until the personal action of George III quelled the riot. Two months earlier Dunning had carried a resolution in the Commons that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." This resolution embodied the opinions of those Whigs, especially

Burke, who wanted to reduce the patronage of the Crown, nominally in the interests of "economy" but really in order to lessen the power of the Crown to control Parliament. But when these same Whigs got into office under Rockingham, they contented themselves with passing a very small measure of "Economical Reform"

§ 412. **The Armed Neutrality, 1780.**—Thus about 1780 Great Britain was struggling under great constitutional difficulties at home, and was only just holding her own in the maritime conflict with the Bourbons. Owing largely to her conspicuous success in the Seven Years' War, she had no friend abroad; and in 1780 various Powers who were not at war with Great Britain banded together in menacing protest against her use of her maritime supremacy. Russia, Denmark, and Sweden—afterwards joined by other states—formed an "Armed Neutrality of the North" to protect the rights of neutrals to trade in time of war. The leading principles of this league were that neutral ships may sail freely from port to port, even along the coasts of belligerents, that "Free Ships make Free Goods"—i.e. that goods on neutral vessels are not liable to seizure, except in the case of contraband of war; and that a blockade to be valid must be effective*. The Armed Neutrality did not proceed beyond statements of general principles, and in particular did not help the United Netherlands in the war which Great Britain declared against them at the end of 1780.

§ 413. **Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown, October 1781.**—Black as the outlook for Great Britain was in 1780, that of the "United States" was still blacker. Lord Cornwallis was using Charleston as a basis of operations in the Tory South which for some time seemed likely to be successful. The aptest illustration of American despair is provided by the "treason" of Benedict Arnold, one of the ablest of the American generals, who made arrangements to desert to the winning side and hand over his important post, West Point, on the Hudson. His plans were discovered, and though he himself escaped, Major André, the British officer who was settling the final details, was captured and hanged as a spy in September 1780. A year later, the British successes which had led to Arnold's treason and André's execution were finally ended by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on the Chesapeake. He had tried to march northwards to join Clinton, but had been

* These technicalities are explained in treatises on International Law, and with special reference to the present case in *The Intermediate Text-Book of English History*, vol. iv. ch. x. § 30

compelled to retire to the apparent safety of the sea-coast. But a powerful French fleet cut him off from the possibility of succour by sea; Washington and Greene hedged him in by land; and his surrender became inevitable.

§ 414. **Battle of the Saints, 1782.**—"My God! it is all over!" was North's exclamation on hearing the news of Cornwallis's surrender, and, so far as America was concerned, his assertion was perfectly true. But elsewhere, British prospects began to brighten soon afterwards. The last serious disaster was the loss of Minorca, which led to North's resignation in March 1782. On April 12, 1782, Rodney and Hood completely defeated the French fleet under Grasse near the Saints, islands lying between Guadeloupe and Dominica. Five months later Elliott beat off the grand effort of France and Spain to take Gibraltar by a furious three days' bombardment. And between February 1782 and June 1783 Hughes was holding his own against Suffren in Eastern waters. These victories not only re-established Great Britain as mistress of the seas, but revived the nation's fading belief in itself, and strengthened the hands of the British diplomats in the negotiations for peace.

§ 415 **Peace of Versailles, 1783**—These negotiations were carried on by the various British ministries which followed one another in quick succession during the two years that followed North's resignation in March 1782. The treaties with the United States, France, and Spain, were signed in September 1783, during the Coalition Ministry that with the United Provinces was not signed till May 1784, after the younger Pitt had become firmly established in office. Lack of ministerial continuity did not prevent Great Britain from taking advantage of the mutual differences among her enemies; and the terms were less unfavourable than she could have reasonably expected in 1781. The independence of the United States was recognized and their boundaries were extended by the cession of British Louisiana, France gained Tobago, Senegal, and increased fishing facilities on the French shore of Newfoundland; and Spain retained her conquests of Minorca and the Floridas. On the other hand Great Britain gained from the Dutch Nagapatnam and the privilege of free navigation and commerce in Dutch East Indian waters. These treaties stood in marked contrast with the *Peace of Paris* twenty years before; and Great Britain seemed to be pulled down from her pride of place. Nevertheless, the events of the next ten years showed that Great Britain was less exhausted than any of her victorious enemies.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PITT'S YEARS OF PEACE, 1783-1793.

- A. PERSONAL HISTORY OF GEORGE III** } See Chapter XXI.
B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

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| <p>(i) International: relations with—</p> <p>(1) France §§ 416, 417, 423, 424</p> <p>(2) Spain §§ 416, 417, 424</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Prussia § 424</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Russia § 424</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">United Netherlands § 424</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">United States §§ 416, 417, 427</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional.</p> <p>(1) Ministries §§ 416-419, 426,</p> <p>(2) Parliament §§ 419, 421, 422, 426-428</p> <p>(3) Commerce §§ 420, 423</p> <p>(4) Ireland §§ 417, 423, 426.</p> <p>(5) India §§ 418, 421, 425</p> <p>(6) Australia § 425</p> |
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I. GEORGE III.'S SECOND STRUGGLE, 1782-1784.

§ 416 Rockingham's Second Ministry, March-June 1782.
 —On North's resignation in March 1782, George III. was compelled to accept the services of the two main sections of the Whigs—the official Whigs, headed by Rockingham, and the Chathamites, now under the leadership of William Petty, Earl of Shelburne. Rockingham became first Lord of the Treasury, Shelburne and Fox were Secretaries of State; and places were found for Burke and Dunning, now Lord Ashburton. This Ministry, during its short career, opened negotiations with France, “gave Ireland what she wanted in the way in which she seemed to want it” (as Fox described the grant of legislative independence to the Irish Parliament), and passed three measures of “Economical Reform.” These three Acts respectively disfranchised revenue officers (who controlled many elections and were absolutely under the thumb of the Government), disabled Government contractors from membership of the Commons, and abolished several useless offices, such as the Colonial Secretaryship instituted in 1768. The actual practice of the Ministry in dispensing pensions and places was not in accordance with the professed zeal of its members for purity.

§ 417. Shelburne's Ministry, July 1782-February 1783.—When Rockingham died early in July, the King promoted Shelburne to his place. Thereupon Fox, Burke, and Ashburton resigned their

posts, for they had special reasons for sharing the general distrust in which Shelburne was held. William Pitt, second son of the Earl of Chatham, became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, and thereby began his lifelong rivalry with the younger Fox. This Ministry arranged the terms of peace with the "United States," which, however, were not formally signed until after its fall, and completed the concessions to Ireland by passing a *Renunciatory Act*, whereby the British Parliament explicitly abandoned all claim to override the Irish Parliament. After a precarious existence of less than eight months, the Ministry was defeated in the Commons in a debate on the peace by the combined efforts of the followers of Fox and the followers of North. Fox and North had been such acrid opponents in former days that their alliance was commonly denounced as an "unnatural coalition."

§ 418. **The Coalition Ministry, April-December 1783.**—More than a month elapsed before George III could bring himself to call Fox and North into his counsels, but their overwhelming strength in the Commons at length obliged him to "swallow the bitter potion." Fox and North became Secretaries of State under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland. The Secretariate had been reorganized in 1782, when the old division of its work into Southern and Northern Departments had been superseded by a more logical division into Home Office and Foreign Office. It fell to Fox, as Foreign Secretary, to introduce an *India Bill* which was meant to amend North's Act of 1773, but which practically transferred the bestowal of Indian offices to the party in power. Lord Thurlow—the "King's Friend" who was Lord Chancellor almost continuously for nearly twenty years (1775-1793), except during the Coalition Ministry—represented the Bill as "taking the diadem off the King's head to set it on that of Mr Fox." George took this view of the Bill and sent Lord Temple among his fellow peers with a paper declaring that the King would regard voting for the Bill as an act of personal enmity to himself. The Lords therefore rejected the measure, and the King at once dismissed the ministers who had introduced it.

§ 419.—**Pitt's Parliamentary Struggle, December 1783-March 1784.**—George invited Pitt to form an Administration; and as Pitt, despite his cold demeanour, was a man of sanguine temperament, he accepted the offer. The late ministers were at first more amused than annoyed at his presumption. He was only twenty-four years of age, and had had only three years' parliamentary

experience; and the wits made merry over the sight of "a kingdom trusted to a schoolboy's care." The King and the Lords were on his side, but he was hopelessly outnumbered in the Commons, and he could not get any politician of the first rank to serve under him. For three months he carried on almost single-handed a fight in the Commons, and thus revealed his own pluck and resourcefulness and the factiousness of the Opposition—which even threatened to cut off his supplies and to reject the renewal of the *Mutiny Act*. But like his father in 1756, he was immensely popular outside the House; and unlike his father, he resolved to appeal to his supporters by means of a General Election. This new device was a great success; over one hundred and sixty members of the Opposition lost their seats, and were jestingly called "Fox's Martyrs."

II PITT AS PEACE MINISTER, 1783-1793.

§ 420. **Pitt the Younger and Adam Smith.**—Pitt remained in office for nearly eighteen years, and was throughout that period continually growing in power. His Ministry was almost equally divided between years of peace and years of war, and it is generally considered that the former period, though less crowded with striking events, was more glorious and successful than the latter period. Unlike his father, he was primarily a financier, and his main object was to set the affairs of his country in order after the strain of the War of American Independence. His ideas were largely drawn from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, a treatise which had appeared in the year of the *Declaration of Independence* (1776), and had marked the rise of a new system of Economic Policy. The Glasgow Professor had especially urged the removal of governmental restrictions on commerce and industry, and had advocated an entire change in the methods of taxation, and had emphasized the duties rather than the rights of the Government. Pitt applied these ideas so far as they were practicable, and thus helped to equip Great Britain with the material resources necessary to carry on the Great War of the future.

§ 421. **The India Act and Warren Hastings, 1784-1788.**—Pitt's first measure was an *East India Act*, designed to remedy the defects of North's *Regulating Act* of 1773. The Company retained its commercial monopoly, but its political and military administration was subordinated to a new department of the Home Government, called the Board of Control. Pitt's most intimate friend, Henry Dundas, who had drafted the Act, was for eighteen years responsible

for administering it as President of the Board of Control. The Act also strengthened the hands of the Governor-General, who was to be a prominent person appointed by the Crown. The first Governor-General under the Act was Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793), who effected the "Permanent Settlement" of the relations between the cultivators and the State in Bengal, and attempted to abstain from intervention in the politics of the Country Powers. During his term of office there began a prolonged inquiry into the government of his predecessor, Warren Hastings. In the time of stress Hastings had lent British troops to the Nawáb of Oudh for use against the Rohillás, and had adopted extreme measures to extract sums due from Chait Singh, Rájá of Benares, and from the Begams of Oudh. These acts were the chief charges for which he was impeached by Burke and Sheridan before the House of Lords; but the trial, after dragging along for eight years (1788-1796), ended in his acquittal.

§ 422. **Parliamentary Reform, 1785.**—Pitt inherited his father's dislike of the Whig Oligarchy, and his father's belief that the time had come for broadening the base of the parliamentary system. Burke and his friends merely wanted Economical Reform—*i e.* to purify the working of the existing system: Pitt at the very outset of his political career had advocated Parliamentary Reform. Wilkes, Richmond and others had proposed the wholesale disfranchisement of rotten boroughs and a wide extension of the franchise: the Bill which Pitt introduced in 1785 was more moderate in its scope. He proposed to buy out the interests of the proprietors of thirty-six decayed boroughs, giving the seventy-two seats thus set at liberty to the counties and London, and to extend the county franchise. But, for the present, the influence of those who favoured the existing system was greater than that of those who desired changes. Pitt's scheme was rejected; and practically the question slumbered for nearly half a century (§ 488).

§ 423. **Commerce and Finance, 1784-1786.**—Pitt showed more tenacity of purpose in the field of economic reconstruction than in merely political reform. He put the parliamentary audit of accounts on a more regular footing, established a Sinking Fund for the reduction of the National Debt, and rearranged the import duties in such a way that the private citizen paid less for commodities while the State got more money out of the customs-dues. This he did by taking strong measures to repress smuggling, which had come to be thought an almost honourable profession, and at the same time made it less profitable by reducing the duties on various articles

of common consumption, such as tea. In the spirit of Adam Smith, Pitt also tried to remove restrictions on external commerce. His attempt to establish complete equality of trade between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland broke down in 1785, because the merchant interest in the British Parliament insisted on conditions which the Irish Parliament regarded as impugning its legislative independence. But in 1786 Pitt was able to arrange an enlightened commercial treaty with France, which reduced the British duties on French wine, silk, and oil in exchange for the reduction of French duties on British wool, cotton, and iron.

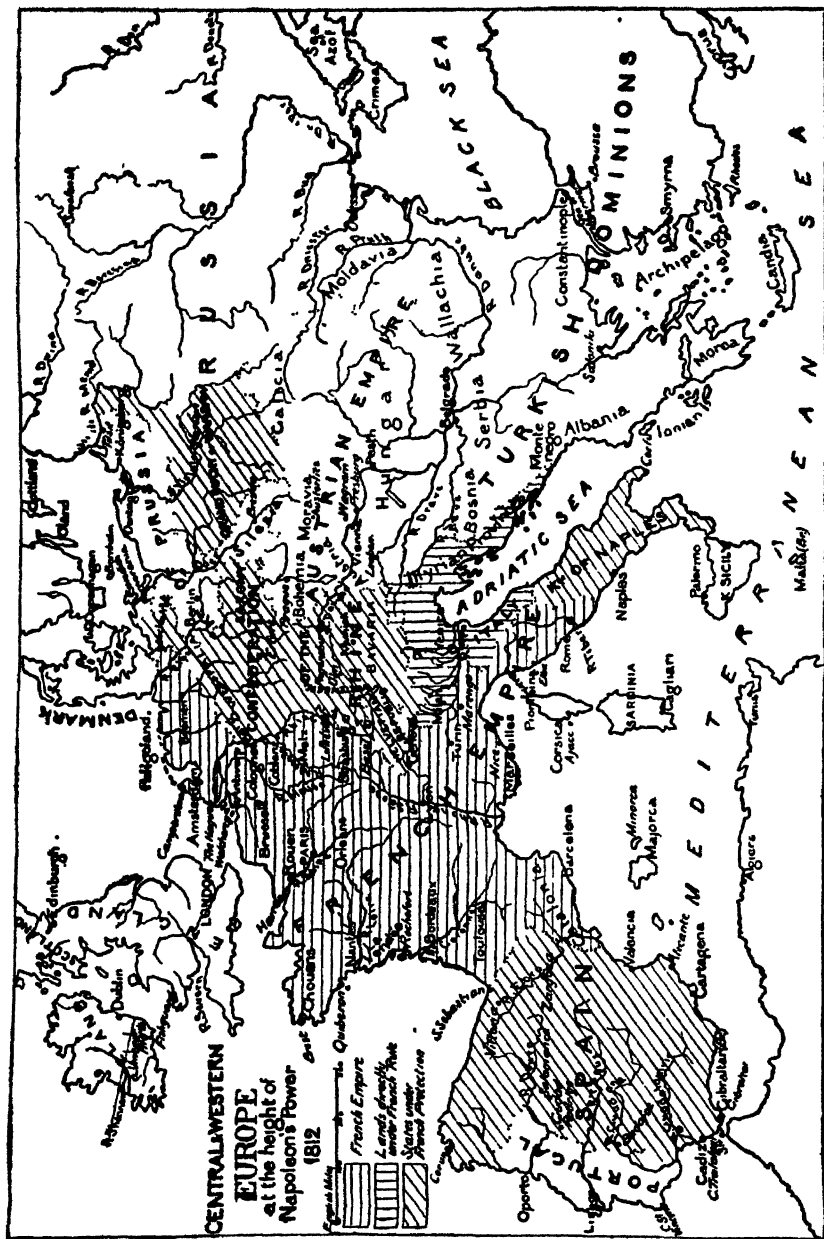
§ 424. **The Triple Alliance, 1788.**—Pitt's commercial treaty was loudly denounced as truckling to the national enemy; but, as a matter of fact, his desire to turn the peace to good account did not interfere with his desire to prepare for war. The most conspicuous incident in Pitt's foreign policy during his early years was the *Triple Alliance* which he arranged with Prussia and the United Netherlands in 1788-9. The principal effect of this Treaty was to sever the United Netherlands from the Bourbon Alliance (§ 412), and thus to check French and Austrian schemes of aggrandisement in the Low Countries, both Dutch and Austrian. Pitt also hoped to use his alliance with Prussia to check the schemes of Austria and Prussia against the weak states of Turkey, Poland, and Sweden, but here Prussia preferred to go her own way. Even in the West the effects of the *Triple Alliance* were short-lived, owing to the outbreak of the French Revolution, but before its weakness was revealed, the prestige which Pitt had gained by negotiating it stood him in good stead. In 1789-1790 France declined to support the action of Spain in claiming to exclude Great Britain from Nootka Sound; and the result was that Great Britain obtained a foothold on the Pacific Coast of North America, laid the foundations of the Colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, and made possible the future establishment of an all-British route across North America.

§ 425. **Botany Bay, 1788** —About the same time Great Britain began to follow up Cook's explorations in the Pacific by establishing a colony in Australia. In 1788 Arthur Philip landed a gang of convicts at Botany Bay, and then, finding the place unsuitable for a settlement, moved into the neighbouring harbour of Port Jackson and there founded the town called Sydney in honour of Pitt's Foreign Secretary. With this unpromising material the Commonwealth of Australia made its start. Transportation to foreign shores had long been adopted as a cheap way of getting rid of criminals; and the

loss of the American Colonies had made it necessary to look out for fresh regions where social rubbish might be shot. The choice of Australia rather than West Africa was partly due to the rise of a humanitarian movement,—which was also being exhibited in the strenuous efforts of John Howard (1780-1794) to humanize the brutal prison systems of Europe, in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and in the efforts of Clarkson and Wilberforce to abolish, or at least mitigate, the horrors of the traffic in negro slaves. Burke and Fox gave an enthusiastic support to this movement, Pitt—being bound by the responsibilities of office, which must always temper ideals by “practical” considerations—was more guarded in his support. In 1788, however, he helped his friend Wilberforce to pass an *Act for the Better Regulation of the Slave Trade*

§ 426 **The Regency Question, 1788-1789**—Towards the end of 1788 the King again became mad, and as no arrangements had been made for the conduct of government in such a case, there was plentiful opportunity for debate between Ministry and Opposition. Fox put forward the view that in case of the King's incapacity, his heir had a “right,” or at least a “legal claim,” to become Regent with the powers of King; and this view was adopted by the Irish Parliament. Fox was a personal friend of the Prince of Wales, and his constitutional theories were not uninfluenced by his hopes of supplanting Pitt as Prime Minister. Pitt maintained that the person and powers of a Regent depended absolutely on Parliament. Before anything definite was settled the King recovered

§ 427. **The Canada Act and the Libel Act, 1791-1792.**—Two notable Acts of Parliament were passed between George III.'s recovery in 1789 and the outbreak of war. The *Canada Act* of 1791 was an attempt to meet the difficulties caused by the immigration of many “United Empire Loyalists” from the revolted colonies into the St. Lawrence Valley. They were mostly Protestants, and were quarrelling with the French Roman Catholic inhabitants, and Pitt sought to stop this quarrel by dividing Canada into two provinces, Quebec or Lower Canada, where the French were most numerous, and Ontario or Upper Canada, which the Protestant immigrants had all to themselves. Fox's *Libel Act* restored to juries in libel cases the right to give a general verdict: they might decide not only whether a certain statement had been published, but also whether it amounted to “libel.” The year 1792, in which this Act was passed, marked the transition from neutrality to hostility in the average British estimate of the French Revolution (§§ 436, 437).



BOOK VI.

THE GREAT WAR AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 1793-1837

INTRODUCTION.

§ 428. **Retrospect, 1756-1793.**—During the period covered by our fifth book the first colonial empire of Great Britain attained its widest limits in the *Treaties of Paris* and *Allahbád*, and then suddenly fell to pieces at the *Peace of Versailles*, while in home politics the Whig Oligarchy reached its zenith during the Seven Years' War, and was gradually overthrown by the persistent efforts of George III. We have seen that that period falls naturally into two periods of war, each undertaken mainly for colonial objects, and each followed by a period of peace, mainly occupied with varied constitutional developments. In the period that lies before us we have again two great wars to study, and again France is the principal antagonist of Great Britain, but these two wars are almost continuous, and they are followed by a constitutional struggle on a much more extensive scale than those of George III.'s reign. Though the two periods have many features in common, yet many deep differences between them arise out of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.

§ 429. **The French Revolution and Napoleonic Empire, 1789-1815.**—The constitutional history of France has differed in many ways from that of Great Britain; and one consequence of this difference was that a number of political and social changes which took place gradually in Great Britain were effected hurriedly and with violence in the few years of "the French Revolution." The causes of that Revolution may be roughly ranged under three main headings—social, intellectual, and political. There were much wider gaps between the various classes in France than in England, the Clergy and the Nobles were privileged classes; the middle classes had very little political power; and the peasants were still subject to many of the burdens of feudalism without its compensating advantages. During the eighteenth century various philosophical writers, such as Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau, had criticized existing institutions very freely, and had led the discontented classes to believe that changes in methods of government would restore the golden age. Finally, Louis XV. and Louis XVI. had so mismanaged the monarchical power handed down to them by Louis XIV. that the state was brought to the verge of

bankruptcy. In May 1789 Louis XVI. assembled the States-General, after an interval of exactly a century and three-quarters, in the hope that they would supply him with the money necessary to carry on the government. The representatives of the Third Estate obtained the mastery in the body, turned it into a "National Assembly," and, with the Paris mob at its back, compelled the King to assent to all manner of sweeping changes. In October 1791 the National Assembly was succeeded by a "Legislative Assembly," which plunged into the war with Austria; and a year later this was replaced by a "National Convention," which set up a Republic and made war on Great Britain and other kingdoms in the name of "Liberty." The Republic passed under the control of an executive committee of five members, known as the "Directory," in 1795, and in 1799 under a still smaller committee known as the "Consulate." Napoleon Bonaparte, a Corsican who might have become an Englishman but chose to become a Frenchman, became First Consul, and, in 1804 he superseded the French Republic by an Empire, which was twice overthrown by armed Europe in 1814-15.

§ 430. **International Aspects of the Revolutionary Era, 1793-1815**—Thus during the quarter-century beginning in 1789 France underwent various constitutional changes which are interesting in themselves, and which would each demand close analysis in a study of European History. In this place, however, we are concerned with them mainly from the standpoint of British History; and here we find that Great Britain, though more unfriendly with some of the Governments than with others, was at war with all those which were in power for the twenty-one years after 1793, and that hostility to France and French ideas caused domestic reforms in Great Britain to come almost to a standstill. During the same period France was engaged in wars with nearly every state in Europe, but her most persistent enemy was Great Britain, which had only one year's peace (1802-3) between 1793 and 1814. The motives and methods of this long Anglo-French war varied from time to time, but the permanent motive was the old one of colonial and maritime rivalry, and the result was due to the fact that Great Britain proved invincible on sea, while France after twenty years of military triumphs proved to be not invincible on land. The hostility of France increased the discontent in Ireland which led to the Brito-Irish Union of 1800 (§ 448), directly provoked the extension of British rule in India (§ 450), and involved Great Britain in war with the United States of America (§ 468).

§ 431. Causes of British Success in the Great War.—If we ask how it was that Great Britain was able to keep up the sustained exertions of the Great War, we find the cause first in her insular isolation, which put her beyond the reach of effective attack, secondly in the doggedness of her leaders, who stubbornly refused to despair when they were beaten, and thirdly in her material resources. The strength which Great Britain derived from her geographical advantages and from the way in which her leaders made use thereof, will be illustrated in the following narrative (chs. xxiv., xxv.) ; but it will be more convenient in this place to consider the nature of her material resources. Great Britain suddenly increased in wealth, just at the time when she most needed it, in consequence of a series of economic changes known as “The Industrial Revolution” This label covers three distinguishable sets of data. (1) changes in the methods of agriculture, manufacture, and communication, (2) consequent changes in the structure of society; and (3) the demand, ultimately successful in great part, that British political institutions should be altered to adapt them to the new social conditions

§ 432. Economic Features of the Industrial Revolution — Throughout the eighteenth century the processes of British agriculture were being improved, especially in the adoption of a system of rotation of crops, in the improvement of the breed of sheep and cattle, and in the bringing of larger areas into tillage by means of enclosing the common fields and the waste which survived the enclosures of the sixteenth century The general tendency of these changes was to increase the quantity, and raise the quality, of the produce of the soil, and all this was sheer gain for the country. Unfortunately for the nation as a whole, a disproportionate share of the gain was secured by the large landowners, and the useful class of yeomen and small farmers was almost destroyed. The corresponding changes in methods of manufacture, which began to be rapid and general somewhat later than the agrarian changes, had a similar result in benefitting the large capitalist rather than the small artisan, but here the man in a small way of business had a better chance than the small farmer. A number of mechanical inventions—especially the spinning-jenny contrived by James Hargreaves of Blackburn, 1767, and the spinning-frame contrived by Richard Arkwright of Bolton, 1769—cheapened and quickened the output of cotton goods; and these inventions were afterwards applied to the treatment of wool and were accompanied by improvements in the

processes of weaving. Meanwhile the home production of iron was increased by the re-discovery of the art of smelting iron by coal, instead of wood. Power to drive the new machinery was derived at first from running water, later from steam, which was first applied to textile manufactures by James Watt in 1785. The growth of manufactures made necessary improved means for the transport of heavy goods; and this improvement successively took the shape of canals, macadamized roads and steam-worked railways. About three thousand miles of canals were built in Britain by Brindley and others between 1760 and 1800; during the same period and onwards to 1830 many turnpike roads were constructed on which it was possible to run coaches at a net average speed of ten to fifteen miles an hour; and in 1830 the first railway regularly worked by locomotive engines was opened between Liverpool and Manchester. Meanwhile Bell and Symington had started a steam boat in the Clyde in 1812, and seven years later an American vessel, partly driven by steam, crossed the Atlantic.

§ 433 **Social Consequences of the Industrial Revolution.**—These vast changes, or such of them as were at work prior to the battle of Waterloo, increased the material resources of Great Britain as a State, and so enabled it to bear the burden of the Great War. But the economic benefits were naturally enough not evenly distributed amongst the citizens of that State; and the dislocation caused first by the transition from handicraft to machine production, and afterwards from war conditions to peace conditions, resulted in the widespread social misery and discontent which prevailed after the Great War. In consequence of the agrarian and industrial revolutions a much larger proportion of the population than before was "divorced from the land," and dependent for its livelihood on wages. The substitution of machinery for hand labour both lessened the demand for labour and lowered its rate of remuneration at the very time when a series of bad harvests, combined with the operation of new Corn Laws, raised the price of food. The condition of the rural labourers was not much better than that of the people who had crowded together in the large towns which had sprung up under the "factory system." Hence during the years following the *Peace of Paris* there were all manner of riots, made sometimes by persons who thought to improve their lot by burning hayricks and breaking machinery, and sometimes by persons who hoped to set things right by political reform. At first the Government, still imbued with its horror of "Revolution," met these disturbances

with measures of repression; but gradually a new school of politicians arose who sought to check political discontent by striving to remove its causes (chs. xxvi., xxvii.).

§ 434. Political Results of the Industrial Revolution.—

The politicians who desired to meet discontent not with repression but with reform were drawn partly from the ranks of the more progressive section of the Whig party and of the less rigid section of the Tories, and they assumed the continental name of "Liberals." Practically they took up the task which the younger Pitt had been compelled to drop on the outbreak of the French Revolutionary War, and which had become much more pressing and complicated with the lapse of time. They had to adjust British institutions to the changed conditions of society, and especially to the rapid growth of the population, which had increased from about nine millions at the first census in 1801 to nearly fourteen millions in 1831. The Industrial Revolution had brought into existence "a supplementary race of men" (as the elder Peel phrased it), an industrial population which, in both its higher and its lower ranges, lay almost wholly outside the existing constitution of Church and State; and the main object of the measures passed during the "Epoch of Reform" (about 1828–1837) was to admit these new classes to the position of active citizens. These measures fell into three main groups. (1) those which formally abolished various civil disabilities under which persons who did not belong to the established churches in the British Isles had been placed in past times (ch. xxvi.); (2) those which adapted the parliamentary constitution to the new state of things; and (3) those which provided better opportunities and conditions of life for various classes which had hitherto been ignored or treated in ways which were now regarded as mistaken (ch. xxvii.) The repeal of the *Test Act* and *Corporation Act* in 1828, and the passing of the *Roman Catholic Relief Act* in 1829 come under the first heading, the *Reform Acts* of 1832 come under the second heading; and the third heading includes such various measures as provided for the Abolition of Slavery, the amelioration of life in factories, the amendment of the Poor Law, and the establishment of municipal government on new principles. Such far-reaching changes were not made without great constitutional struggles, nor were they as successful as their promoters had hoped, but on the whole they tended to satisfy the moral principle formulated by Bentham, one of the most sanguine of the reformers, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

§ 435. **The Rise of Nationalities.** The period which witnessed these domestic changes mostly in direct consequence of the Industrial Revolution, was marked also by the rise of new problems in British foreign and colonial relations which may largely be ascribed to the French Revolution. The events of the period 1789-1815 imbued the leading statesmen of Europe with an abiding fear of "revolution," while they encouraged the desires of their subjects for political change. Hence there arose the movements known as *Nationalism*—the idea that every "state" ought to correspond to a "nation"—and *Liberalism*—the idea that government in each state ought to be conducted in accordance with the wishes of the governed, as expressed in some representative assembly. In opposition to these movements the rulers sometimes met in congress to take joint measures against disturbances; and for many years the leading spirit in these conferences was the Austrian statesman Metternich. Gradually Great Britain dissociated herself from the continental monarchies and adopted an attitude of "non-intervention." This policy sometimes took the shape of preventing other states from interfering in the affairs of their neighbours, as when Canning prevented the European Powers from helping Spain to reconquer her revolted colonies in America, or when he prevented Egypt from helping Turkey to conquer the revolted Greeks. There was no sharp break in either the domestic or the foreign policy of Great Britain: in each department there was a tendency to abandon the attitude of fear of "reform," resulting in repression and sympathy with reaction, and to regard reform as inevitable at home and not necessarily reprehensible abroad. The reforming activity which marked the restoration of the Whigs to power in William IV's reign extended to India and to the colonies. The abolition of slavery caused much discontent in the West Indies, where the planters could not adapt themselves to the new conditions of labour, and in South Africa, where there began those trekkings of the Boers which gave Great Britain much trouble during the Victorian Age.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1793-1802.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY OF GEORGE III see ch xvi

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS (1789-1820)

PAPACY	AUSTRIA.	PRUSSIA	FRANCE	SPAIN	SWEDEN	RUSSIA
Pius VI (1775)	Joseph II H.R.E (1765) Leopold II H.R.E (1790) Francis II H.R.E (1792-1806) [= Francis I "Emperor of Austria"(1804-1835)]	Frederick William II (1786)	Louis XVI (1774-1792) Ferdinand <i>Republic</i> , 1792 <i>Directory</i> , 1795 <i>Consulate</i> , 1799 <i>Empire</i> , 1804	Charles IV (1788) Ferdinand VII (1808-1833) (Joseph Bonaparte Rival, 1808-1813)	Gustavus III (1771) Gustavus IV (1792) Charles XIII (1809) Charles XIV <i>Berndotte</i> (1818-1844)	Katharine II (1762) Paul I (1796) Alexander I (1801-1825)
Pius VII (1800-1823)		Frederick William III (1797-1840)	Louis XVIII (1814-1824)			

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

(i) **International: relations with—**

- (1) France §§ 436-446, 447, 449
- (2) Spain §§ 437, 439, 446
- (3) Austria §§ 437, 440, 443
- (4) Prussia §§ 437, 439
- (5) The Netherlands §§ 437, 439, 441, 443, 446
- (6) Denmark §§ 444, 445

(ii) **Constitutional.**

- (1) Parties §§ 436, 438, 445
- (2) Repression §§ 436, 438, 439
- (3) Finance § 441
- (4) Mutinies and Rebellion § 441, 442, 447
- (5) Ireland §§ 439, 440, 447, 448
- (6) India §§ 442, 445, 449, 450

I. THE FIRST COALITION, 1793-1797.

§ 436 **British Opinion on the French Revolution.**—The French Revolution affected the political thought of Great Britain in various ways. Some rejoiced to see the ancient enemy apparently destroying herself, some were pleased to notice that a neighbour was striving to get a constitution like our own; those who had grievances gathered from the course of the French Revolution hints as to methods of securing remedies; and those who were tolerably content with the existing state of things saw in the events across the Channel only a case of "liberty degenerating into licence."

Roughly speaking, these and other British attitudes resolved themselves into two—sympathy with, and opposition to, the Revolution abroad and constitutional change at home ; and the various political groups ranged themselves into two distinct parties on these lines. Burke's great work, *Reflections on the French Revolution*, which was written in 1790, first began to turn the balance of opinion to hostility : it had much more weight than the rejoinders of Tom Paine, *The Rights of Man*, or Sir James Mackintosh's *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*. A minority of the Whigs, headed by Fox, and including Erskine, Grey and others, took a less unfavourable view of the Revolution. Pitt long maintained the attitude of neutrality suited to his responsible position ; but the increasing violence of the Revolutionists during the year 1792, especially after the Girondin party obtained power in the National Convention, gradually drove Pitt to adopt Burke's views. In May the Government issued a Proclamation authorizing the magistrates to suppress seditious writings, and in December a second Proclamation called out the Militia to suppress the prevalent spirit of tumult and disorder. Early in 1793 Parliament passed an *Alien Act*, intended to prevent the landing of revolutionaries, and a *Traitorous Correspondence Act*, which made unauthorized intercourse with France into treason.

§ 437. **Outbreak of the Anglo-French War, 1793.**—Meanwhile France had in 1792 declared war against Austria and Prussia, and, as those Powers were busy with a "second partition" of Poland, France was at first successful. Inebriated with these early triumphs, the National Convention abolished the French Monarchy and proclaimed a Republic in October 1792. In November, having conquered the Austrian Netherlands, it declared the Scheldt open to the trade of all nations, and finally it issued a decree offering aid to any "people" struggling to free itself from the "tyranny" of any "government"—other than that of the French Republic. Then in January 1793, it sent "Louis Capet," formerly King Louis XVI, to the guillotine. Pitt at once sent the French Ambassador his passports ; and in February France replied by a declaration of war against Great Britain and the United Provinces. The formal cause of the war was the fact that the opening of the Scheldt was a breach of many treaties from the *Peace of Westphalia* onwards. Great Britain and the United Provinces at once joined Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Prussia in a coalition against France, and for a moment this coalition was successful. But in July 1793 the determined Jacobin party overthrew the more moderate Giron-

dins and persuaded the French Convention to entrust the executive power to a vigorous "Committee of Public Safety." In the autumn French armies drove the Austrians out of the Southern Netherlands and Alsace, put down Royalist risings in La Vendée and elsewhere, forced the Duke of York to raise the siege of Dunkirk, and compelled Hood to evacuate Toulon, which had been held for some months on behalf of the French Royalists.

§ 438. **British Ministerial Changes and Maritime Successes, 1794.**—During the crisis of 1793 the Committee of Public Safety, including Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and other republican zealots, had struck wildly at all suspected enemies of the Republic; and their period of vigilance is known as the "Reign of Terror." Having destroyed the internal opponents of the Republic and driven back its external foes, their task was achieved; and in July 1794 France returned to a more normal kind of government. Meanwhile the fear of the establishment of a similar "Reign of Terror" in Great Britain had been dominating the governing classes. In 1794 Lord Braxfield, "the Scottish Jeffreys," had sentenced a young lawyer named Thomas Muir to fourteen years' transportation merely for advocating universal suffrage and annual parliaments; in May 1794 Parliament had armed Government officials with greater power of arrest and imprisonment by suspending the *Habeas Corpus Act*; and in June the "Old Whigs," who agreed rather with Burke than with Fox, formally went over to Pitt's side, and their leader, the Duke of Portland, became Home Secretary. Portland's predecessor, Dundas, was placed in charge of a new department specially created in view of the circumstances of the time—the Secretaryship of War. But even before this Great Britain had begun to compensate by her victories at sea for the defeats of her allies by land. On the "Glorious First of June" Lord Howe defeated a French fleet off Ushant; and before the end of the year other fleets had occupied various French islands in the West Indies, and even helped the Corsican patriot, Paoli, to throw off the yoke of France for a time.

§ 439 **Treaties of Basel and the Directory, 1795.**—The year 1795 abounds in illustrations of the burdensomeness of the French War. Great Britain lost three of her allies and was herself troubled by much internal discontent. Early in the year France conquered the United Provinces and erected them into a "Batavian Republic" on the French model, and under French control. In April and July respectively Prussia and Spain entered into *Treaties of Basel* with the French Republic: the former, in order to be free

to attend to the third and final partition of Poland, the latter out of sheer feebleness. Great Britain was able to seize various Dutch colonies, especially Ceylon and Cape Colony, but her expedition to Quiberon Bay in aid of the French Royalists was a disastrous failure. Owing to bad harvests, and also to the working of economic causes, the country was starving and seething with discontent. In order to feed the hungry, the Justices of the Peace in Speenhamland, a district of Berkshire, started the practice of supplementing wages by doles from the rates; and this demoralizing practice became general throughout the country. In order to have additional powers to repress the discontent which arose largely out of hunger, the Government passed the *Treasonable Practices Act* and the *Seditious Meetings Act*, making it treasonable to advocate or discuss the desirability of reform in Church or State. Early in the year the recall of Lord Fitz-William, the popular Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, prepared the way for the outbreak of Irish discontent into rebellion.

§ 440. **Pitt's Overtures for Peace, 1796.**—The Directory established in October 1795 seemed so likely to give France a stable government that in 1796 Pitt twice opened negotiations for peace; but as he declined to leave France in possession of the Netherlands, the negotiations fell through. This year witnessed the recovery of Corsica by France, and an unsuccessful attempt to land a large force in Ireland in support of the United Irishmen (§ 447). But the most notable event in the year was the French campaign in North Italy, whereby Napoleon Bonaparte made his reputation as a general, and, after a series of victories, compelled Austria to make peace. The terms were practically settled in April 1797, but the definitive *Treaty of Campo-Formio* was not signed till October. Bonaparte bribed Austria with the stolen property of the Venetian territory to surrender all Germany west of the Rhine to France, and to recognize the erection of Piedmont and Lombardy into a "Cisalpine Republic."

§ 441. **St. Vincent and Camperdown, 1797.**—The Directory resolved to follow up its successful attack on Austria by an onslaught on Great Britain, the last remaining ally of Austria. Its first attempt—the landing of a small French force at Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire, in January 1797—was ridiculous, and was easily defeated; but it then planned operations on a larger scale, making use of the Spanish and Dutch fleets. Great Britain seemed to be in a perilous position. In February Pitt saved the Bank of England from bankruptcy only by authorizing it to suspend cash payments that is

to refuse to give money in exchange for its notes. A little later (April-June) formidable mutinies broke out in the Navy. The grievances of the fleet at Spithead—the badness of the food supplied, the low rate of wages, and the cruelty of the officers—were speedily put right by the popular Admiral, Lord Howe. The mutineers at the Nore, headed by Parker, were infected with “Jacobinical” ideas, and wanted to conduct naval operations by mass-meeting. They were gradually brought to submission and their ringleaders were executed. Before these mutinies began Sir John Jervis and Horatio Nelson—who had previously done good service in Corsica—routed a Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent (February 14), and after it was over, Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet, which he had been blockading in the Texel, off Camperdown (October 11). These naval victories, won under exceptional difficulties and against great numerical odds, saved Great Britain from sharing the humiliation of her Austrian ally.

II. THE SECOND COALITION, 1798-1802.

§ 442 Bonaparte's Eastern Expedition, 1798.—In 1798 Great Britain stood absolutely alone, and though her prospects were brighter than they had been the previous year, they were still gloomy. Her greatest danger was the Irish discontent which in this year flared up into a short-lived rebellion (§ 447). The Directory prepared to help this rebellion by sending expeditions not only to Ireland, but also against England. Bonaparte, however, who was placed in command of the “army of England,” persuaded the Directory, whom he had recently saved from overthrow, to let him try his fortune elsewhere. His imaginative temperament drew him towards the East, and he thought it possible to establish a French dominion in Egypt and Syria, and thence to conquer India and Turkey. Accordingly in May he sailed from Toulon, and, taking Malta from the Knights of St. John, made himself master of Egypt by the Battle of the Pyramids in July. But during the night of August 1 Nelson destroyed his fleet in Aboukir Bay, near the western mouth of the Nile; and in the following spring Sir Sidney Smith helped to beat him back from Acre. His visionary enterprise had utterly failed, but not without leading to important consequences in Europe and India (§§ 443, 449).

§ 443. Formation of the Second Coalition, 1799.—Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt and Syria offended the Tzar Paul (who had adopted the view that Russia was the natural heir to all the Turkish

dominions); and the increasing weakness of the Directory encouraged Austria and Naples to join Britain and Russia in another coalition against France. The Coalition was not long successful. Nelson was unable to maintain the Bourbon King of Naples and Sicily in his continental dominions; the Duke of York again failed in the Low Countries, and was compelled to withdraw his troops by the *Capitulation of Alkmaar*; and though Austria was for a time successful against France in North Italy, the Russian generals Suvórov and Korsákov failed to hold Switzerland. Early in November Bonaparte, who had deserted his army in Egypt, overthrew the Directory in the revolution of 18 Brumaire (the date in the fanciful Republican Calendar corresponding to November 10), and established himself in civil authority under the title of First Consul. This was the beginning of the military despotism in which, as Burke had long ago prophesied, the aspirations of the French Revolution were destined to culminate.

§ 444. **Second Armed Neutrality, 1800.**—Bonaparte's accession to power speedily resulted in the defeat of Austria and in the detachment of Russia from the Coalition. In the spring of 1800 Bonaparte himself crossed the St. Bernard Pass and in June defeated the Austrian army at Marengo. In December Moreau achieved a still greater victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden, in Bavaria. Meanwhile Russia had been growing slack in her adhesion to the Coalition, and was finally estranged when Malta passed from French to British control in September, 1800. Bonaparte worked on the feelings of the Tzar Paul, and persuaded him to revive the Armed Neutrality of 1780 on behalf of the maritime rights of neutrals.

§ 445. **Resignation of Pitt, 1801**—The rival leagues against France and Great Britain fell to pieces in the year 1801. In February Austria came to terms with France in the *Treaty of Lunéville*, and Pitt resigned office because he was not allowed to round off his union between Great Britain and Ireland by the promised measure of Roman Catholic Emancipation. In April Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson fought the "Battle of the Baltic" in Copenhagen Roads, and compelled Denmark to give up her fleet; and shortly afterwards, following the murder of the Tzar Paul, Russia detached herself from co-operation with France. In June Great Britain made considerable modifications in her "Right of Search," and so broke up the Armed Neutrality. In August the remnants of the French army in Egypt, which had already been defeated at Alexandria in March by Sir Ralph Abercromby,

surrendered to an Anglo-Indian force under Sir David Baird. The general result of these events was to show that France could do nothing effective against the sea-power of Great Britain, and that Great Britain could do nothing effective against the military power of France.

§ 446 Peace of Amiens, March 1802—The consequence of this, coupled with the desire of the new Addington Ministry for peace, and with Bonaparte's desire to gain leisure for organizing the French navy for his great colonial schemes, was that Great Britain and France came to terms which practically recognized that this struggle had been a drawn battle. France agreed to evacuate Naples and the Papal States, to acknowledge the independence of the Ionian Islands (formerly belonging to Venice), and to recognize the claims of Turkey to Egypt, while Great Britain agreed that its king should drop the empty title of King of France held since Edward III's days, promised, on certain conditions, to re-establish the Knights of St. John in possession of Malta, and restored all conquests to France and her allies, except the Dutch colony of Ceylon and the Spanish island of Trinidad. "It was," said a British onlooker, "a peace which every one would be glad of, and which nobody would be proud of"

III INDIA AND IRELAND, 1789-1805.

§ 447. The United Irishmen and the Ninety-Eight, 1791-1798.—The French Revolution had not only involved Great Britain in a great maritime war, and enabled Pitt to build up a powerful Tory party devoted to the maintenance of the existing British Constitution against all manner of "Jacobinism," but had also led to serious difficulties in Ireland and in India. In Ireland the legislative autonomy established in 1782 had not worked very well, either from a British or from an Irish point of view. The Irish Parliament was just as far from being representative of the nation as was the British Parliament, and it had not the same amount of control over the administration. Hence there arose demands for Parliamentary Reform and Roman Catholic Emancipation, and these were at first the chief aspirations of the "Society of United Irishmen," which was founded by Wolfe Tone and Hamilton Rowan in 1791. They were not alone in bidding for the support of the Irish Roman Catholics. In 1793, Pitt pressed through the Irish Parliament measures which abolished restrictions of the education and worship of Roman Catholics and re-admitted them to the parliamentary suffrage (§ 325), though not to seats in Parliament.

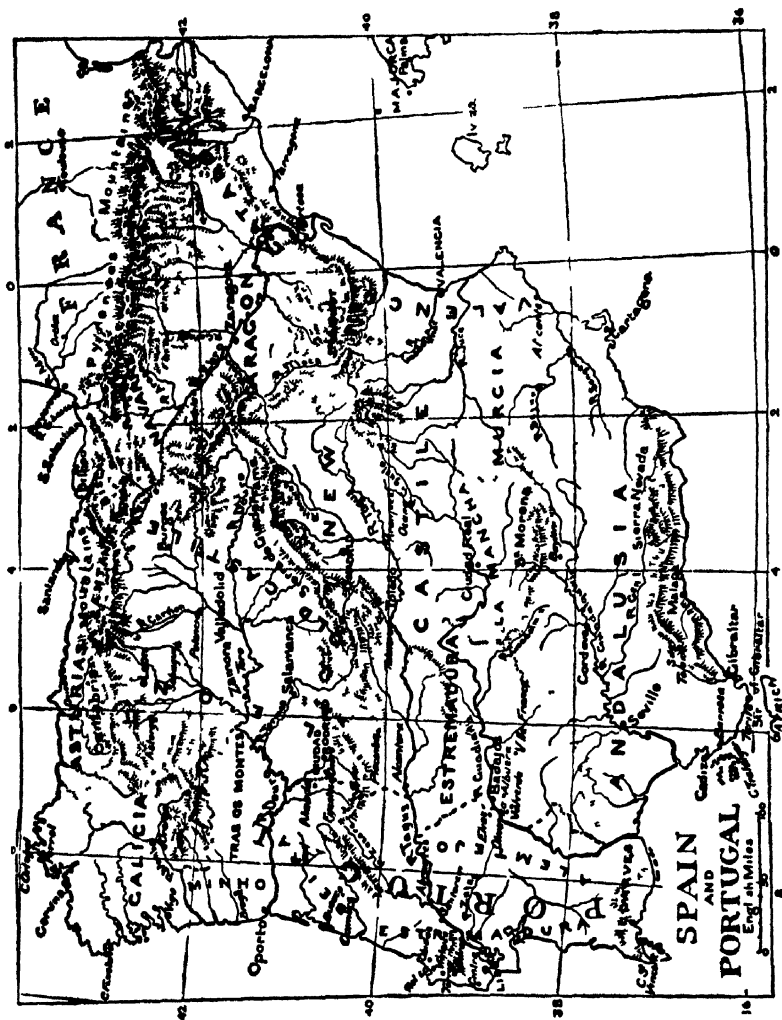
Two years later, Lord Fitz-William was sent over to Ireland to make further concessions; but hasty action on his part caused his immediate recall. This led directly to the revival of the United Irishmen, no longer on a national basis, but pledged to alliance with the lower classes among the Irish Romanists and the French Republic. Pitt, on the other hand, won over the Roman Catholic gentry and the Protestant minority. The great French expedition under Hoche was dispersed by storms in 1796 and achieved nothing; and before another expedition could start, the Government, with the help of the Protestant Yeomanry, had disarmed the Roman Catholics in most parts of Ireland. In the summer of 1798, however, a rebellion broke out in Wexford, which was crushed by Lake in a fight round Vinegar Hill, in Wicklow (June). When the rebellion was suppressed Humbert landed a French force at Killala, and routed Lake in the "Castlebar Races," but he soon had to surrender to Cornwallis.

§ 448. **The Brito-Irish Union, 1800.**—The bitterness of Irish factions had disgusted the better kind of British officials—such as Abercromby and Cornwallis—who had to deal with Ireland during these years, and their representations confirmed Pitt in his belief that the only way out of the difficulty was to adopt the expedient of a legislative union. Pitt laid down the terms, and Lord Castlereagh, Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant Cornwallis, arranged with the Irish borough-mongers for their acceptance by the Irish Parliament. The *Act of Union* was passed by both Parliaments in 1800, and came into force on the first day of the following year. It provided that the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should form a united Kingdom, having a single Parliament in which Ireland should be represented by four spiritual lords, twenty-eight temporal lords, and one hundred commoners; that the established churches of England and Ireland should also be united; and that Ireland should be admitted to complete commercial equality with Great Britain, and should contribute two-fifteenths of the revenue of the United Kingdom. The Irish Union differed from the Scottish Union of 1707 in several respects, and especially in not containing securities for the religion of the majority of the Irish population. When Pitt introduced these securities in a supplementary measure, he was thwarted by George and compelled to resign in February 1801.

§ 449. **Third and Fourth Mysore Wars, 1790-1799.**—The year of the Irish Rebellion was also the year of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt; and this latter fact had a great influence on the Indian policy of Richard Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, who became

Governor-General in that year. His two predecessors—Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) and Sir John Shore (1793-1798)—had done their best to comply with orders from home to abstain from intervention in native affairs. Cornwallis, it is true, had been constrained to take steps against Tipú Sáhib, who had succeeded Haidar Ali as Sultán of Mysore in 1784, and the result of this Third Mysore War (1790-1792) had been the defeat of Tipú and the division of half his territory among the Company, the Nizám and Maráthás. But Shore had permitted the Maráthás to subject to tribute the Nizám of Haidarábád, the oldest native ally of the East India Company. Mornington held that the near approach of Bonaparte, and the actual presence of many French agents in India, made this policy of non-intervention no longer safe; and he resolved to make the Company the Paramount Power in India. With this object he required the country Powers to cease making war on one another, to receive and pay for the protection of a body of British troops. The Nizám at once accepted these conditions, but Tipú Sáhib—who had had himself enrolled in a Jacobin club in Paris as “Citoyen Tippou”—declined to enter into a “subsidiary treaty” The result was a short war, ended in May 1799 by the storming of Seringapatam Tipú died in the fight; and his dominions were assigned partly to a member of the old Hindu line of Rájás, and partly to the Company and its allies. For these services Mornington was created Marquess Wellesley.

§ 450. **Second Maráthá War, 1803-1804.**—In the years 1800-1802 Wellesley annexed Tanjore, the Carnatic, Rohilkhand and the Doáb, and entered into subsidiary treaties with the Peshwá of Poona, the head of the Maráthá Confederacy, and with the Gaekwar of Baroda. But the other Maráthá chiefs held aloof, and Wellesley decided to break their restless energy. In 1803 Wellesley's brother Arthur, afterwards famous as the Duke of Wellington, defeated Sindhia's troops in the battles of Assaye and Argáum, and overran the upper Deccan; while further north Lake won the battle of Laswári, and Harcourt defeated the Bhonsla of Nagpur and occupied Orissa. In 1804 Lake compelled Holkar to come to terms. The submission of the Maráthás, the most warlike of the native Powers in India, practically made the whole of India, outside Rájputána and the Indus Valley, directly or indirectly subject to the East India Company. Wellesley's activity was not approved of at home, and he was recalled in 1805, but his work remained (Map, p. 308).



CHAPTER XXV.

THE NAPOLEONIC WAR, 1803-1815.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY OF GEORGE III see ch xxi

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS see ch xxiv

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

(i) **International: relations with—**

(1) France §§ 451, 452, 454-465,
468-473

(2) Spain §§ 452, 454, 457, 462-
466, 468, 473

(3) Austria §§ 454, 455, 458, 463,
468, 470, 473

(4) Prussia §§ 458, 460, 468, 470,
473

(5) Denmark §§ 460, 461, 473

(6) Russia §§ 454, 455, 460, 468,
470, 473

(7) United States §§ 452, 459,
467

(ii) **Constitutional.**

(1) Ministries §§ 453, 456, 461,
464, 466

(2) Parliament §§ 456, 466

(3) Emancipation §§ 453, 456,
466

(4) Regency § 466

(5) Ireland § 453

(6) Colonies § 457, 473.

I NAPOLEON'S MARITIME ATTACK, 1803-1805.

§ 451. **General Features of the Napoleonic Period.**—The *Treaty of Amiens* lasted little more than a year, and was succeeded by a war still more arduous and protracted than that in which Great Britain had been engaged since 1793. As before, the dominant fact in the international situation was the maritime supremacy of Great Britain, which saved her from sharing the fate of her allies. Nevertheless, in other respects, the Napoleonic War differed in character from the Revolutionary War. On the one side, France was no longer heading a crusade on behalf of republican ideals, but was simply one of the instruments wielded by a powerful personality for the creation of a world-empire. On the other side, Great Britain soon lost the services of Pitt, her greatest statesman, and of Nelson, her greatest admiral, and none of their successors, though often men of ability, attained the same pre-eminence. Ultimately, too, Napoleon's imperial system became so oppressive as to arouse national resistances, and the peoples of Europe proved more powerful opponents than their governments had been. Thus, about 1807,

the character of the war changed ; and British operations became increasingly military and aggressive, whereas up to then they had been rather naval and defensive. The comparative safety of Great Britain reacted on home politics, and destroyed the need for the repressive measures of the Georgian Dictatorship.

§ 452 **Breach of the Peace of Amiens, 1803.**—In 1802 Bonaparte was made First Consul for life and thereupon assumed the style of Napoleon ; and in 1804 he received the more dignified title of "Emperor of the French." He not only reconstructed the political system of France on lines which, in the main, proved permanent, but also prepared to make her mistress of the whole world. His schemes ultimately threatened the independence not only of Great Britain but of all other States ; and though their full extent was not known, his annexations in Switzerland and North Italy during the peace which followed the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens caused general alarm. Great Britain made the "aggressions" of Napoleon a pretext for refusing to fulfil her treaty-obligations to evacuate Malta, fearing lest it should be seized by Napoleon, and resented the endeavours of Napoleon to throw impediments in the way of her commerce in the countries under his control. The continuance of peace was essential for Napoleon to make adequate preparations for carrying out his vast designs ; but his contempt for the Addington Ministry made him imagine that it would not attack him whatever he did. In May 1803 however, Great Britain declared war, and Napoleon at once retorted by seizing some ten thousand British travellers in his dominions (whom he kept captive till the end of the war), and by renewing his preparations for the invasion of England. Henceforth a determination to overthrow Great Britain became his ruling passion ; and in 1803 he made a bid for allies in this policy by selling Louisiana (recently acquired from Spain) to the United States of America.

§ 453. **Pitt Succeeds Addington, 1804**—In 1803 Napoleon tried to stir Ireland into rebellion against the Union ; but the projected national rising got no further than a riot in Dublin, ending in the capture and execution of Robert Emmett. This rising and Napoleon's vast preparations at Boulogne for an invasion of England itself aroused great excitement in Britain, and the Addington Ministry showed much energy in building blockhouses along the coast, and in raising hosts of volunteers "for defence and not defiance." But there was no general confidence in Addington ; and in May 1804 he gave place to Pitt—whom Canning had well called

"the pilot that weathered the storm." In taking office again, Pitt promised not to raise the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation and tried to secure a broad-bottomed ministry, which should really represent the union of all groups of politicians against France. But his previous Foreign Secretary, Lord Grenville, would not take office without Fox, and Fox remained intolerable to the King. Pitt was therefore compelled to choose his colleagues exclusively from his old supporters, the Tories, and he naturally fell back on his old policy of forming a European coalition against France.

§ 454 **Battle of Trafalgar, October 21, 1805.**—It was not till the spring of 1805 that Pitt was able to arrange his "third coalition," his allies this time being Austria, Russia, and Sweden; and before that time the Emperor Napoleon had persuaded Spain to declare war on Great Britain, and had matured his plans for an invasion on a great scale. The fleets on which Napoleon depended were, however, shut up in Toulon, Cadiz, Ferrol, Rochefort and Brest by Nelson and his colleagues. Napoleon hoped that some of them might break the blockade and draw away the British fleets to the West Indies, and thence returning might overwhelm the British Channel Fleet and cover the crossing from Boulogne. On March 30, 1805, Villeneuve sailed from Toulon for Martinique, picked up some ships, eluded Nelson's chase, and was back off the coast of Spain early in July. On July 22, Sir Robert Calder failed to stop him in a battle off Cape Finisterre, and Napoleon confidently expected him at Boulogne in a few days. But Villeneuve retreated to Cadiz, and Napoleon, disgusted and impatient, turned his energies elsewhere. Two months elapsed before the Franco-Spanish fleet ventured out of harbour; and then on October 21, eighteen out of their thirty-three ships were taken or destroyed by Nelson and Collingwood, in command of twenty-seven sail, off Cape Trafalgar. Nelson was killed in the battle, but his life-work was achieved. It was not his victory which frustrated the intended invasion of 1805; but by annihilating both the Spanish and the French navies it made similar attempts impossible in the near future. "England," said Pitt in November 1805, "has saved herself by her courage, and will save Europe by her example."

§ 455. **Battle of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805.**—Napoleon had changed his plans on learning Villeneuve's retreat, and turned his "Army of England" against his Continental enemies. Here he was completely successful. Prussia was timidly hesitating between France and Austria, and Russia was still marching her troops west-

wards, when the Austrian general Mack was forced to surrender with the whole of his army at Ulm (October 20). Napoleon defeated the rest of the Austrian forces, and also the Russian army which had joined them, at Austerlitz near Vienna, December 2. The third coalition was shattered: Austria, in the *Treaty of Pressburg*, December 26, ceded Tirol to Bavaria, and her Italian lands to France, in order to save her existence. Pitt is said to have expressed his sense of the greatness of the disaster in the words "Roll up that map of Europe—it will not be wanted for ten years."

§ 456. **Death of Pitt and Fox, 1806.**—In January 1806 Pitt died, prematurely worn out by his continuous labours and overwhelmed by the disaster of Austerlitz. His last days had also been clouded by the impeachment of his old friend Dundas, Viscount Melville, for malversation as Treasurer of the Navy—it was the last instance of impeachment, and it ended in Melville's acquittal. On Pitt's death, a combined administration such as Pitt himself had desired was formed, and became known as "The Ministry of All the Talents." Lord Grenville, the First Lord of the Treasury, represented the Old Whigs of Burke's school, Fox, the Foreign Secretary, and Erskine, the Lord Chancellor, represented the New Whigs; and Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, represented the "King's Friends." The Ministry, though short-lived, lasted long enough to exhibit some of its "talents." Fox tried to arrange peace, but before his death in September, he discovered that Napoleon was using negotiations simply to gain time for his Continental measures. The humanitarian sympathies of some of its members was shown in the promotion of a *Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. Before that Bill became law, the Ministry had been shipwrecked on the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Grenville introduced a measure giving to Roman Catholics a standing in the British Army similar to that which they had had in the Irish Army before the Union. George III persuaded his ministers to drop the Bill and also asked them to promise not to renew the subject. On their refusal to make such a pledge, he dismissed them, and deliberately took the opinion of his subjects by means of a General Election. As in 1784, he obtained a large majority.

§ 457. **Transmarine Expeditions of the Talents Ministry, 1806-1807.**—Abroad the Talents Ministry displayed a feverish activity which produced practically no results. In the summer of 1806 they sent an expedition to Italy to help a Calabrian insurrection against Joseph Bonaparte, whom Napoleon had made King of

Naples, but the enterprise had to be abandoned soon after Sir John Stuart's victory at Maida in July. In the spring of 1807 they sent out two other Mediterranean expeditions—against Constantinople and Alexandria respectively, but the first was an immediate failure, and the second resulted only in the temporary occupation of Alexandria. More promising, but also more disastrous, was an attempt on the South American colonies of Spain, to which the Ministry gave its sanction. In January 1806 an expedition sent out by Pitt, took the Cape of Good Hope, and its commander, Sir Home Popham, conceived the idea of trying his luck on the other side of the Atlantic. Monte Video and Buenos Aires were successfully occupied for a time, but in July 1807 the British troops under Whitelock were driven out with great loss.

II. THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM, 1806-1808.

§ 458. **The End of the Holy Roman Empire, 1806.**—Meanwhile Napoleon had been busy re-arranging the political map of Europe and preparing to strike at "the nation of shopkeepers," through their commerce. After his great victory at Austerlitz he had created his brothers Joseph and Louis Kings of Naples and Holland respectively, and had organized the petty states of western Germany into a "Confederation of the Rhine" under French protection. These measures naturally alarmed Austria and Prussia. Austria had not yet recovered from her recent disaster, and her ruler contented himself with formally dissolving the Roman Empire—lest Napoleon should force him to abdicate in his own favour—and with falling back on the title which he had assumed two years earlier, "Hereditary Emperor of Austria." Prussia, whose King had accepted Hanover as a bribe from Napoleon to keep quiet during the Austerlitz campaign, imagined that the army which had been created by Frederick the Great was still invincible, and resolved to appeal to arms. In a single day (October 14, 1806) Napoleon at Jena and Davoust at Auerstadt overthrew the Prussians; and a fortnight later the French entered Berlin in triumph.

§ 459. **The Berlin Decrees and the Orders in Council, 1806-1807.**—From the Prussian capital Napoleon launched in November 1806 the decrees that were meant to starve the islanders who were inaccessible to his military power. He declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbade any article of British manufacture or origin, or any vessel hailing from Britain and her Colonies, to be admitted within the dominions of France

and her allies. The British Government retorted with *Orders in Council* forbidding neutral vessels to frequent the ports of France and her dependencies unless they had previously touched at a British port, and in December 1807 Napoleon met their counter-attack by his *Milan Decrees*, declaring all ships that had touched at a British port, or had been searched by British warships, to be lawful prize of war. Napoleon's intention was to deprive Great Britain of a market in Europe for her manufactured goods or for her colonial produce: the intention of Great Britain was to make it impossible for any nation to enjoy the trade from which her own merchants were excluded. As Great Britain had a navy, she was able to enforce her Orders and thus deprive the inhabitants of the greater part of Europe of many commodities which had become almost necessities of life. The chief results of Napoleon's Continental System were to injure the growing American trade with the Old World, and to make the Americans annoyed with Great Britain, whose "Orders in Council" were much more operative than the French "Decrees," and, what was much more important, to make all the inhabitants of Europe suffer great inconvenience merely to gratify Napoleon's insensate hatred of Great Britain.

§ 460. *Treaty of Tilsit, July 1807.*—In order to be effective, Napoleon's commercial embargo had to be made as truly "continental" as possible, but when he issued the *Berlin Decrees*, he was still at war with Prussia and Russia, and neither Portugal nor the Scandinavian States had yet bowed the knee to the French Emperor. At first he did not seem to be in a position to isolate Great Britain, for in April 1807 that Power entered into the *Treaty of Bütenstein* with Prussia, Russia and Sweden for common action against France. But Great Britain neglected her Baltic allies in order to have her hands free for her Mediterranean and Oceanic projects, and the consequence was that Russia, after suffering defeat at Friedland in June 1807, came to terms with Napoleon. The Tzar Alexander met the "Emperor of the West," as Napoleon sometimes called himself, on a raft in the Niemen, and there made the bargain formally concluded in the *Treaty of Tilsit* :—

(i) PUBLIC TREATY. Russia agrees to recognize Napoleon's reconstruction of Germany—including the creation of a Duchy of Warsaw (held by the King of Saxony), and a Kingdom of Westphalia (held by Jerome Bonaparte), both at the cost of Alexander's ally, Prussia, and he promises to mediate between France and Great Britain.

(ii) **SECRET TREATY.** If Great Britain refuse the terms offered—abandonment of her maritime claims and recent conquests—Russia is to help France against her, receiving as compensation Finland (to be taken from Sweden), and Wallachia and Moldavia (to be taken from Turkey). Russia also permits Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal to be forced into the French alliance.

§ 461 **The Reply of the Portland Ministry, 1807.**—The Talents Ministry had replied to the *Berlin Decrees* by the *Orders in Council*; but it fell to the lot of their successors to meet these new dangers. Fortunately the new Ministry included members more capable than its nominal chief, the Duke of Portland, or his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Spencer Perceval. The Foreign Secretary was George Canning, one of the ablest of Pitt's followers, and the author of many of the most brilliant verses in the *Anti-Jacobin*; while the Secretary for War and the Colonies was Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, who had been trained in the same school and had made his mark during the negotiations for the Irish Union. It was Canning who anticipated the Franco-Russian designs on Denmark, by sending an expedition which bombarded Copenhagen in September 1807, and saved the Danish fleet from falling into the enemy's clutches. Naturally the two Emperors who had perpetrated the shameless bargain at Tilsit, joined in denouncing this new illustration of British perfidy and tyranny. The British Ministry also seized the Danish island of Heligoland, which became useful for smuggling goods into Germany; and they helped the Portuguese Royal Family to escape to Brazil when a French army marched into Lisbon to punish Portugal for her half-hearted adhesion to the Continental System.

III. THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-1814.

§ 462. **The National Uprising in Spain and Portugal, 1808.**—Having secured Portugal, Napoleon resolved to take advantage of the presence of his troops in the Iberian Peninsula to strengthen his hold on Spain. In May 1808 he compelled Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand to abdicate in favour of Joseph Bonaparte. As a matter of fact, Joseph was likely to make a far better King than either of the deposed Bourbons; but the Spaniards saw in the change, not a boon to themselves but an insolent and treacherous attempt by a foreign upstart to impose a King on them against their will. They rose *en masse* and thus began a national resistance to Napoleon which was a prime cause of his overthrow. Canning

at once sent help to the insurgents, beginning with Portugal as more convenient. In August Sir Arthur Wellesley landed a considerable force in Mondego Bay, and defeated Junot at Rorica and Vimiero. He was then superseded by senior officers, who at once permitted the French to withdraw under the *Convention of Cintra*. Shortly afterwards Sir John Moore—who had just returned from a futile endeavour to save Sweden from Russia—took the command and marched into the heart of Spain. Completely misled by his Spanish allies, Moore nearly fell into the hands of Napoleon himself; but he contrived to retreat to Corunna, where he was killed in the battle fought to cover the embarkation of the remnant of his forces (January 16, 1809).

§ 463. **Wagram and Walcheren, 1809** —Though the Spaniards were unable to face the French in pitched battles, and though the British had been forced to withdraw, the Spanish rising necessitated the presence of so large a French army in Spain, that Austria ventured on a fourth effort against France. She declared war in April, and in May she nearly defeated Napoleon in a great fight at Aspern. But in July Napoleon won a decisive victory at Wagram, and in October he again compelled Austria to make peace, and even enter into a marriage alliance. Napoleon divorced Josephine Beauharnais and became the son-in-law of the Emperor of Austria. Meanwhile Great Britain had been trying to help Austria by making a diversion in the Low Countries. The expedition started late, its commanders, Chatham and Strachan, quarrelled, and the army was half destroyed by fever while engaged in a useless siege of Flushing in the island of Walcheren. The failure of the Walcheren expedition led to a duel between Castlereagh, its originator, and Canning, who believed that the Peninsula provided a better field of operations. They both resigned their offices in September, and in the following month Portland retired in favour of Spencer Perceval.

§ 464. **Talavera and Torres Vedras, 1809-1810** —In the reconstructed Ministry the Foreign Secretary was the Marquess Wellesley and the Secretary of War was the Earl of Liverpool, who, as Lord Hawkesbury, had had much diplomatic experience. Perceval's Administration, after some hesitation, took up the Peninsular War with vigour. There Sir Arthur Wellesley had again taken the command in May, and had at once driven Soult out of Portugal and invaded Spain. In July he had defeated Victor and Jourdan in a battle at Talavera, which gained him the title of Viscount Wellington and which partly balanced the contemporary disasters of Wagram

and Walcheren. His position was still so uncertain, however, that he dared not risk a battle in the following year, especially as Napoleon had sent large reinforcements into Spain to finish off the war. He retreated slowly before Masséna, and finally retired behind the fortifications which he had had constructed to defend Lisbon across the peninsula between the Tagus and the sea. Masséna could not break through the "triple lines" of Torres Vedras; supplies failed him; and in the spring of 1811 he was compelled to withdraw his starving troops into Spain.

§ 465. Peninsular Campaigns of 1811, 1812—Having secured his hold on Portugal, Wellington was now able again to take the offensive. In May he himself defeated Masséna at Fuentes de Oñoro, and his subordinate Beresford defeated Soult after a deadly struggle at Albuera. The latter battle was fought to cover the siege of Badajoz, one of the fortresses on the frontier between Spain and Portugal which it was necessary to take before an invasion of Spain could be safe. Early in 1812 Wellington took both Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz—not, however, without heavy loss—and pushed on into Spain. There he defeated Marmont at Salamanca in July and occupied Madrid for a moment, but, having received a check at Burgos in September, he again had to retreat to Portugal for the winter. But Napoleon had so drained the Peninsula of troops for his Russian campaign (§ 468), that the south of Spain and the whole of Portugal were now safe from the French, and the Spanish Cortes assembled at Cadiz showed their confidence in the future security of Spain by drawing up the Constitution of 1812.

§ 466. The Regency and the Liverpool Ministry, 1810-1812—George III. was a warm supporter of Wellington, and one of his last public actions, before he became permanently insane in 1810, was to commend the active prosecution of the Peninsular War to his Ministers. The accession of his son George as Regent made little difference in politics: he retained his father's Ministers and later adopted his antipathy to Roman Catholic Emancipation. This change of views became important when the assassination of Perceval in May 1812 necessitated a reconstruction of the Ministry. There were some negotiations with Wellesley and Canning, and later with Lords Grey and Grenville, but all these men were definitely committed to the cause of Roman Catholic relief, and in the end the old Ministry was reconstructed under Lord Liverpool, with Castlereagh and Sidmouth at the Foreign and Home Offices respectively, and with the recognition of Roman Catholic relief as

“an open question.” Liverpool remained Premier till 1827, but before that date several significant changes took place in the composition of his Cabinet (§ 478).

§ 467. The Anglo-American War, 1812-1814.—In 1812 the Anglo-French commercial war involved France in war with Russia, and Great Britain in war with the United States of America. The commercial regulations of the warring Powers was ruinous to American trade and industry ; and though both Powers were equally to blame, the anti-British party in the States managed to concentrate their hostility on Great Britain. The British practice of searching American ships for deserters from the British Navy, and for goods from the French colonies, caused even greater irritation than Napoleon's practice of seizing American ships and goods in European harbours ; and in June 1812, the United States formally declared war on Great Britain. The most conspicuous incidents in the war were a number of duels between frigates, in which the American vessels usually had the advantage—the victory of the *Shannon* over the *Chesapeake* outside Boston Harbour being the most notable exception (June 1, 1813). The Americans made various raids into Canada which resulted in barren victories ; and British expeditions burnt Washington, but failed to take Baltimore and New Orleans. The war was terminated, without settling the original points of dispute, by the *Treaty of Ghent*, December 1814

§ 468. The Russian Campaign and the Wars of Liberation, 1812-1813—The American War had no influence whatever on the course of the conflict in Europe ; but the contemporary war waged by Napoleon on Russia was even more disastrous to the French cause than the Peninsular War. Finding that Russia was getting few advantages out of the Tilsit agreement, and was suffering severely from the exclusion of British trade, Alexander withdrew from his French alliance ; and Napoleon resolved to complete his hold over Continental Europe by conquering Russia. In June 1812 he crossed the Niemen at the head of half a million troops drawn from all the peoples of Europe, and in September he entered the holy city of Moscow. He was compelled by the partial burning of that city to retreat ; and in his retreat, he lost nearly the whole of his army. At first his withdrawal seemed to leave him where he was before ; but in February 1813 Russia was persuaded to take the offensive and help the states of Central Europe to rise against Napoleonic rule. The principal promoter of this scheme was Baron Stein, who had re-organized Prussia after the defeats of 1806, and

who, on being driven into exile by Napoleon, had become the Tzar's confidential adviser. At Stein's instance, an appeal was made in Prussia and other German States, not to the duty of the inhabitants towards their princes but to their love for the German fatherland ; and the result of their enthusiastic response was the " War of Liberation." In June Austria joined the movement ; and in October the Allies drove Napoleon out of Leipsig in the three days' fight known as the " Battle of the Nations." By the end of the year the Allies had advanced to the eastern frontier, while Wellington had followed up a great victory at Vittoria in June by fighting his way inch by inch across the Pyrenees

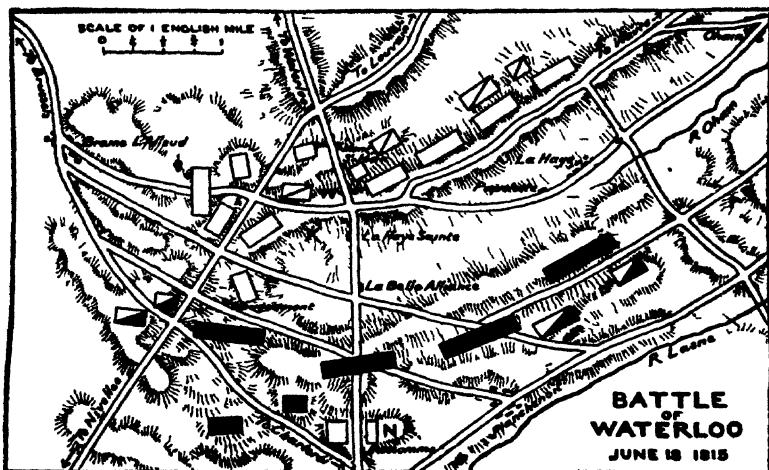
§ 469. The First Downfall of Napoleon, April 1814.—The Allies again and again offered favourable terms, which Napoleon rejected partly because he feared that the acceptance of defeat would ruin his domestic position, partly because he disbelieved in the continuance of union among the Allies. Despite their jealousies, however, their armies pressed forward into France during the first three months of 1814. Napoleon himself faced the invaders from Germany, while Soult offered a steady resistance to Wellington's march on the south. Early in April Napoleon was compelled by his marshals to abdicate ; and a few days later, Wellington won his final victory over Soult at Toulouse. When the Allies reached Paris, they acquiesced in the preparations that had been made for a Bourbon restoration, in the person of Louis XVI.'s brother, who took the title of Louis XVIII. The *First Treaty of Paris* (May 1814), banished Napoleon to Elba, leaving him the title of Emperor, and assigned to France the boundaries of 1792.

IV. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1814-1815.

§ 470. Agenda of the Congress.—Towards the end of the year, the monarchs and statesmen of Christendom (for Turkey was excluded), met in congress at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe. The four Great Powers—Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia—had already, during the Wars of Liberation, made various agreements among themselves as to the future, and they now desired to keep the decision of outstanding questions in their own hands. But Talleyrand, the astute diplomatist who represented France, put forward the claims of both his own country and the minor Powers of Europe to have a voice in the settlement, and diligently turned the differences among the Great Powers to the advantage of France. In January he succeeded in forming an alliance between France,

Austria and Great Britain to counteract the designs of Russia on Poland and Prussia on Saxony.

§ 471. The Return of Napoleon and the Fifth Coalition.—Reports of the quarrels among the diplomatists at Vienna, and of French dissatisfaction with the restored Bourbons, induced Napoleon to make a bid for his old position. On February 26, 1815, therefore, he left Elba, and landing near Antibes, five days later, entered Paris on March 20, again Emperor of the French. The Congress at Vienna



Wellington, 61,000.
[21,000 = British]

Napoleon, 71,000
[Out of 124,000]

W = Wellington's Head quarters

N = Napoleon's Head quarters.

A.P = Prussians under Bulow (4 p.m.)

E.P = Prussians under Blücher (7 p.m.)

X = Repulse of the Imperial Guard

at once abandoned their diplomatic discussions, and, in order to crush the common enemy before he should establish himself, promptly formed the Fifth Coalition. Thousands of men were sent by the Allies to the campaign on the north-eastern frontier of France, while Napoleon had on his side all the quarter million veterans, both officers and soldiers, who had been released from prison or garrison at the recent peace. With these he hoped to crush his enemies in detail, before they had time to concentrate.

§ 472. **The Waterloo Campaign, June 15-18, 1815.**—On June 15 Napoleon crossed the Sambre and tried to insert himself between the mixed army of Wellington, whose head-quarters were at Brussels, and the Prussian army lying further to the east. On June 16 Napoleon defeated the Prussians under Blücher at Ligny, and next day sent Grouchy in pursuit of them. On June 16 also, Ney tried, but failed, to dislodge the British and Belgian forces under Wellington from their position at Quatre Bras; and on the 18th Napoleon attempted to force his way northwards towards Brussels by way of Waterloo, while the British and their allies on the ridge at S. Jean stubbornly barred the road, till in the evening they were reinforced by the Prussians. Then the British assumed the offensive and scattered the French army. The Allies advanced across the French frontier, and on July 7 entered Paris. Napoleon abdicated in favour of his son, and then surrendered to the commander of the British ship *Bellerophon*, lying off Rochefort. He was sent to St. Helena, where six years later he died.

§ 473. **Territorial Settlement of the Congress.**—Having overthrown Napoleon, the Allies rapidly completed the work of settlement interrupted by "The Hundred Days" campaign. Their general plan was to restore the Balance of Power in Europe to the condition in which it was before the outbreak of the French Revolution, compensating some states for their losses, and punishing others which had supported Napoleon. The Bourbons were restored not only in France, but also in Spain and the Two Sicilies; France was reduced to its 1790 boundaries and compelled to pay an indemnity and submit to an army of occupation; Austria received the Venetian territories in North Italy; Prussia received compensation in Pomerania, Saxony, and the Rhine Provinces for the loss of part of her Polish possessions; the Netherlands, northern and southern, were created into a kingdom for the House of Orange; Sweden was compensated for the loss of Finland by the possession of Norway, taken from Denmark; the German lands included in the defunct Holy Roman Empire were formed into a loose confederation under the presidency of the Emperor of Austria; and Great Britain retained Malta, Heligoland, Cape Colony, and Mauritius. The general result was a curious compromise between the old state of things and the new arrangements framed by Napoleon; and the whole scheme was based on the interest of ruling Houses not on the national sentiments which had been recently aroused and which proved to be still active.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, 1815-1830

A. PERSONAL HISTORY—George IV, eldest son of George III, was born at St James's Palace, August 12, 1762; was created Prince of Wales, August 17, 1762, married (1) Mary Anne Fitzherbert in 1785 (a marriage illegal under the *Royal Marriage Act* of 1772), (2) Caroline of Brunswick (*d* August 7, 1821), April 8, 1795, appointed Regent, February 5, 1811; succeeded his father as King, January 29, 1820, crowned at Westminster, July 19, 1821; died at Windsor, June 26, 1830, buried in St George's Chapel. For family connections, see Table, p 198

B CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	FRANCE	SPAIN	AUSTRIA	PRUSSIA	RUSSIA	TURKEY
Pius VII (1800)	Louis XVIII (1814)	Ferdinand VII (1813- 1833)	Francis I (1804- 1835) (= Francis II, H. R. E. 1792- 1806]	Frederick William III (1797- 1840)	Alexander I (1801) Nicholas I (1825- 1855)	Mahmoud II (1838- 1859) [Mehemet Ali Pasha of Egypt, 1811- 1849]
Leo XII (1828)	Charles X (1824- 1830)					
Pius VIII (1829- 1830)						

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD.

(i) International: *relations with*—

- (1) France §§ 475, 480, 481
- (2) Spain. §§ 477, 480
- (3) Austria §§ 475, 480, 481
- (4) Russia. §§ 475, 480, 481, 483
- (5) Turkey §§ 480, 481, 483
- (6) United States. § 480

(ii) Constitutional.

- (1) Political Parties §§ 474, 482, 485
- (2) Ministries §§ 477, 478, 482
- (3) Social Discontent § 476
- (4) Parliamentary Reform §§ 478, 485.
- (5) Commerce § 479
- (6) Toleration §§ 482, 483, 484

I. CASTLEREAGH AND SIDMOUTH, 1815-1823.

§ 474. **Political Parties after the Great War.**—The era following the battle of Waterloo is sometimes known as "the Thirty Years' Peace." During that period, it is true, there were no great wars in Europe, but neither was there any "peace" in any real sense of the term. The financial burdens directly and indirectly caused by the long wars, together with the growth of political

Somewhat similar measures had, it is true, been passed in 1802 and 1819; but this "*Third*" *Factory Act* differed from its predecessors in being general—not merely confined to cotton mills—and in establishing special inspectors to see that its provisions were carried out. The Education Grant and the *Factory Act* mark the beginning of the reaction against the unrestricted "liberty" advocated by the Whigs—the reaction which has had such triumphs in our own day, and which, under the name of state-socialism, aims at diminishing individual liberty in the name of the welfare of the community.

§ 495. **Reconstruction of the Ministry under Melbourne, 1834.**—In the summer of 1834 differences on Irish questions led to the reconstruction of the Ministry. Immediately after the passing of the *Roman Catholic Emancipation Act* (1829), Daniel O'Connell had transferred his genius for political agitation to fresh fields, and had begun to work for the repeal of the Union and to release the Roman Catholic peasantry from paying tithes for the support of a Church to which they did not belong. In the years 1830-2 the struggle was so keen that practically no tithe could be collected in Ireland; and the question was one of the first that faced the Whig Ministry after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. In 1833 they passed a *Church Temporalities Act*, which gave to the State the control of Irish Church funds with a view to their better management. Incidentally, the question arose what was to be done with a possible surplus: should it be used simply for ecclesiastical purposes, or should it be "appropriated" to such objects as education? This new question of "appropriation" became more important in Brito-Irish parliamentary politics than the tithe question, out of which it arose. In May Stanley, Ripon and others resigned because they objected to a proposal to reduce the temporal possessions of the "Church of Ireland"; and in July Earl Grey followed their example. As Peel declined to take office, the remnants of Grey's Ministry were reorganized under Lord Melbourne, formerly Home Secretary under Grey.

§ 496. **Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834**—Melbourne's four months' ministry was memorable only for the passing of the *Poor Law Amendment Act*. Owing to the extension of the practice of supplementing wages out of the rates by means of outdoor relief, more than one-seventh of the population had become paupers, and the cost of administering the Poor Law had mounted to nearly £9,000,000, entailing a charge of over 10s. per head of the population. The new law returned to the Elizabethan tradition of dis-

tinguishing sharply between the destitute poor and the professional loafer, requiring the latter to do a definite amount of work in return for a definite amount of relief ; and it at once lessened and more fairly distributed the cost of administration by requiring adjacent parishes to enter into "unions" and to submit their accounts to a department of the Central Government. In three years the amount spent on Poor Relief fell by nearly £3,000,000 ; and this pecuniary gain was accompanied by a marked moral improvement in the poorer classes.

§ 497. **Peel's First Ministry, December 1834-April 1835.**—In November 1834 the death of Earl Spencer involved the transfer of his son Lord Althorpe, to the House of Lords. Believing that no member of the Ministry could take Althorpe's place as leader of the House of Commons, William IV. dismissed Melbourne and sent for Wellington, who advised the nomination of Peel as Prime Minister. Peel hastened back from Rome and undertook the task, giving the Foreign Office to Wellington, and a minor post to William Ewart Gladstone, whom a few years later Macaulay described as the "rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories." Peel at once dissolved Parliament and formulated in his *Tamworth Manifesto* a program of quiet reform which distinguished his new "Conservative" party from the frigid Tories out of whom it had grown. The new House of Commons contained a Whig majority ; and after two months' struggle Peel had to abandon for the present his attempt to carry on the government. The whole episode is chiefly important for showing that, though William IV. was personally popular as "the Sailor King," the Kingship had no longer the same predominant weight in the Constitution that it had had in 1784 or 1807.

§ 498 **The Municipal Reform Act, 1835.**—Melbourne returned to office with most of his former colleagues, except the unruly intriguer, Lord Brougham, who had been Lord Chancellor in his former administration ; Lord John Russell was Home Secretary ; and Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary. Though still weak and divided, the Ministry continued to do useful work during the two years left to it before the death of William IV. in June 1837. In June 1835 Lord John Russell introduced a *Municipal Reform Act* which authorized the substitution of uniform representative government in towns for the various forms of government that existed in consequence of the varied developments of mediæval boroughs and Stuart interferences therewith. The new borough were to be ruled by town councils elected by all male ratepayers

who had resided in the town for three years ; in order to keep the government respectable, a property qualification was required for town councillors ; and in order to keep the government steady and continuous, the councillors were to choose aldermen who were to hold office for six years (twice as long as the ordinary councillor). The Act was gradually adopted in most large centres of population—except the City of London, which still retains its ancient constitution, slightly modified—and everywhere the new councils set themselves to improve the conditions of the towns.

§ 499. Various Reforms in 1836—In 1836 the House of Commons showed how it had outgrown the exclusiveness of its eighteenth century predecessors by beginning to publish its division-lists and by reducing the newspaper tax to one penny. In 1836 also a body of Ecclesiastical Commissioners was incorporated by Parliament to manage large parts of the revenues of the Church of England, and especially to adapt their distribution to the new needs. But most significant of Whig policy were the Bills passed in 1836 to diminish the friction between the established clergy and the Nonconformists. Registration of births and deaths was wholly secularized ; that of marriages was to be made by the minister performing the ceremony and transmitted to the Registrar if the minister were of the Established Church, if not, the marriage could be solemnized in the Nonconformist building in presence of the Registrar. Tithes could also be commuted for rent charges, a permission which was almost everywhere used. Similar to these Bills in object was the combination of University College, an “undenominational” institution founded in 1827, with King’s College, an Anglican establishment founded in 1829, to form a University of London empowered to grant degrees to any persons passing purely intellectual tests. This was a sop to the Nonconformists to console them for their failure to gain full admission to the older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

§ 500. Beginnings of the Oxford Movement, 1833-1837—The attitude of the Whigs towards the various questions connected with both the Irish and the Anglican Churches—an attitude which was meant to express impartiality but which struck many people as being the outcome of sheer indifference—was one of the many causes leading during the thirties of the nineteenth century to a great Anglican revival. This revival is variously known from its place of origin as “the Oxford Movement,” and from its method of appealing to the public by means of Tracts (begun in 1834) as “the

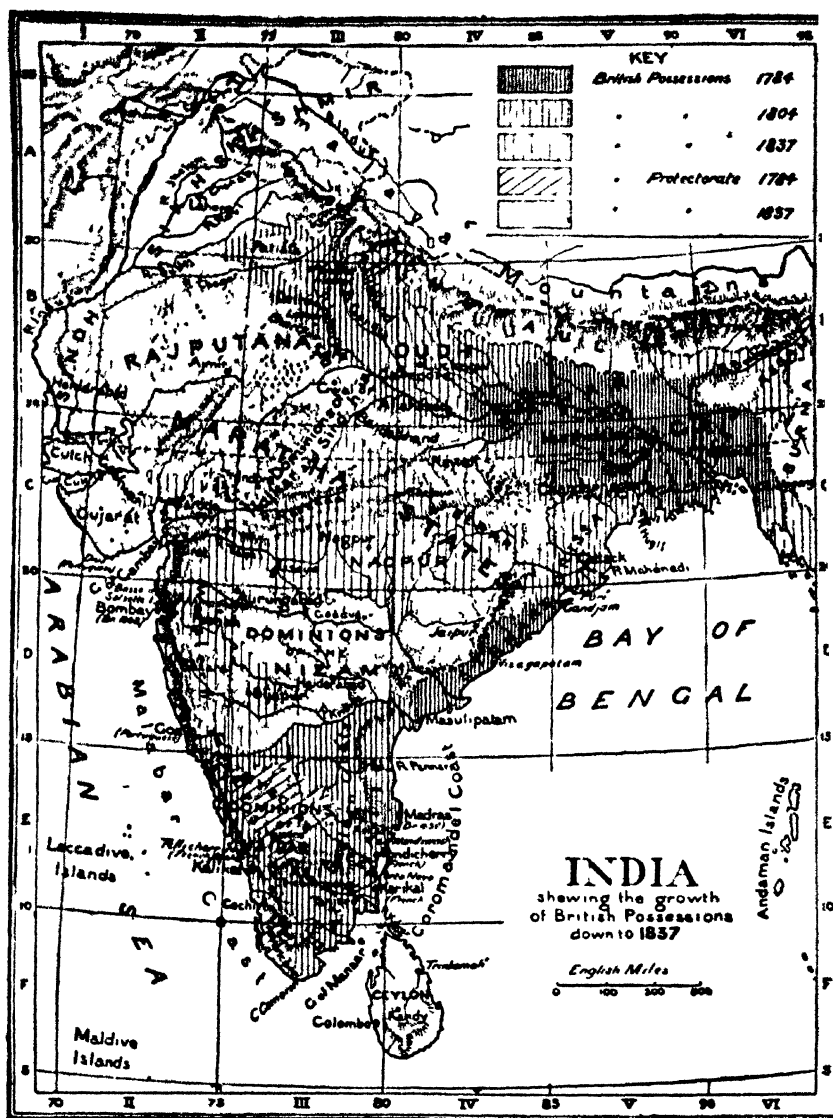
Tractarian Movement." Its leaders—John Keble, John Henry Newman, and Edward Pusey, all of Oxford, and Hugh James Rose of Cambridge—stoutly asserted the essentially spiritual nature of the Church, maintained its independence of the State, and traced the authority of its officials not to the State but to the Founder of Christianity by means of the apostolical succession of its ordained priests and bishops. The Tractarians laid more stress on the claims of the Church of England to be a branch of the Catholic Church than on its Protestant aspects, and in the long run some of their ablest men—especially Newman and Manning—joined the Church of Rome. Like their Evangelical predecessors, Wesley and Simeon, they threw themselves with great zeal into the work of preaching the Gospel to the masses of the uneducated poor.

§ 501 **Palmerston and Mediterranean Questions, 1833-1887.**—Meanwhile Palmerston had been continuing to act in harmony with France in various questions that had arisen in the Mediterranean; and the friendly relations of the two Channel Powers had been answered by the Conference of Munchengratz, in September 1833, when the three Eastern Powers drew closer together to resist the infection of their own spheres of influence by the Liberal principles of their late Allies. The chief spheres of Palmerston's activity were the Peninsula and the Levant. In both Spain and Portugal there were dynastic disputes between young queens (who owed their position to the setting aside of the "Salic Law") and rather unpleasant uncles, Don Carlos and Dom Miguel respectively, who put themselves at the head of the reactionary clerical parties. In April 1834 France and Great Britain formed with the existing Governments of Spain and Portugal a *Quadruple Alliance* to drive the pretenders from the Peninsula, and for a moment they were successful. In the previous year France and Great Britain had helped Mehemet Ali of Egypt to obtain Syria by the *Treaty of Kutaya* (§ 481), and the Sultan Mahmoud had retorted by making a *Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi* with Russia, whereby the latter acquired an exclusive right of navigating the Dardanelles in time of war. Great Britain and France joined in a formal protest against this treaty, and some years later took steps to enforce their protest (§ 515).

§ 502. **Territorial Extension of British India, 1805-1828.**—French action in Mediterranean questions was partly determined by the fact that since 1830 France had been engaged in the conquest of Algeria, while British action was still more fully influenced

by the proposed revival of the Mediterranean route to India. Since the recall of the Marquess Wellesley (§ 450), British power in India had spread in many directions. Territorial extension had been made chiefly under the governorships of Lord Moira, Marquess of Hastings (1814-1823), and Earl Amherst (1823-1828). In 1815 the Ghurkas of Nepál had been chastised for their raids into the Ganges Valley, in 1817 the Pindaris of Malwá had been not only chastised but suppressed for their freebooting in Central India; and the Third Maráthá War of 1817-1818 had resulted in the annexation of Maráthá lands to the Bombay Presidency and to the Central Provinces. Hastings thus consolidated British dominion in India itself. his successor, Amherst, was rather bent on the protection of that dominion from external attack. The First Burmese War (1824-6) resulted in the *Treaty of Yandabu*, whereby the King of Ava ceded Assam along the Brahmaputra, and the maritime provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim.

§ 503. **Administrative Changes in British India, 1828-1835.**—Meanwhile the idea that India was a place to be exploited by British merchants and officials, was beginning to be more and more modified by the ideal of governing India for the good of its inhabitants. This new phase is especially associated with the governorship of Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835). He did his best to crush the two Hindu practices which had hitherto been winked at by the Company because of their religious basis *sati*, the self-cremation of widows, was declared culpable homicide; and *thagi*, the strangling of wayfarers in honour of the goddess Kalí, was gradually suppressed by William Sleeman. Increased facilities were given to Christian missionaries; education was further endowed, and more openings in the Company's service were found for educated natives. During Bentinck's rule also the Company ceased to be distinctively commercial. In 1813, when its Charter had been revised, the Company had been deprived of its monopoly of Indian trade and received a Government guarantee on its stock; in 1833 it was deprived of its monopoly of the China trade, and became a purely administrative concern which was little more than a distinct department of the British Government.



BOOK VII.

THE VICTORIAN AGE, 1837-1901

INTRODUCTION.

§ 504. **Retrospect, 1793-1837.**—In our last book we saw Great Britain involved in two great struggles, each of which was intimately connected with the vast economic changes summed up under the phrase, "the Industrial Revolution." During the years 1793-1815 Great Britain successfully maintained her right to exist, and even to extend her power by land and sea, against the opposition of various governments in France which, however different from one another in other things, had a common characteristic in hostility to Great Britain; and during the peaceful years which followed, 1815-1837, Great Britain was generally occupied with the various troubles—economic and political—arising at home and abroad out of the Great War. During the whole of this period British statesmen were almost wholly concerned with the British Isles, and showed themselves embarrassed rather than interested by the dependencies beyond the seas which, despite their indifference, increased almost automatically in extent and importance. In the Victorian Age, which forms the subject of our closing book, however, we shall find imperial questions gradually rising almost to a level with purely domestic questions in the thoughts of British statesmen and citizens; and at the opening of the twentieth century it begins to seem possible that an imperial patriotism may ultimately dominate the various provincial patriotisms existing within the British Empire.

§ 505. **Period Divisions of the Victorian Era, 1837-1901.**—In studying the history of modern times we are overwhelmed by the complexity and mass of events happening in a wider area than in former times came within the ken of Europeans; and we are also hampered in both the selection and the criticism of our facts by our nearness to the events described. In the following account of the Victorian Age we shall continue to adopt a roughly chronological order, even though that method involves sudden jumps from one end of the earth to the other; but before proceeding to the chrono-

logical narrative we shall endeavour to give a connected view of some of the leading topics of interest. Our chronological narrative will fall into four period divisions : in our first (1837-1846) we shall see how gradually Sir Robert Peel was driven, not by the Chartist agitation, but by his own strong common-sense, to adopt the policy embodied in the "Repeal of the Corn Laws", our second period (1846-1865), which includes the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, is dominated by the personality and policy of Lord Palmerston ; our third period (1865-1885) is mainly occupied with the rivalry between Disraeli and Gladstone about parliamentary reform, education, the relations of Church and State, Irish, Turkish and Indian questions, and a variety of other matters ; and our fourth period (1885-1901), though partly occupied by a premature and partial attempt to dissolve the so-called "United Kingdom," is mainly filled with the scramble for Africa, in the course of which Great Britain is involved in wars in both North and South Africa, and ultimately emerges triumphant.

§ 506. **Europe during the Victorian Era, 1837-1901.**—Among the more notable features in the history of Europe during the Victorian Era were (1) the extension of the principle of Nationality, (2) the creation of armed nations equipped with weapons of precision ; and (3) the Colonial Renaissance which has caused nearly all the states of Europe to indulge in colonial ambitions. Before the accession of Queen Victoria, the principle of nationality had already been successfully asserted by the Greeks (1821-1833) and by the Belgians ; and during the earlier part of her reign it was further asserted by the establishment of an Italian Kingdom in 1861, and a German Empire in 1871. But the principle of Nationality seems to have seen its best days. It is not yet clear whether the Italian national kingdom will be able to hold its own against the open hostility of the Roman Church, which had successfully hindered Italian unity for a thousand years, and it is clear that the principle of Nationality has failed in the Balkans, in Ireland, and in South Africa. The chances of small peoples asserting or maintaining their independence have been lessened by the growth in the greater states since the middle of the nineteenth century of huge armies, levied by conscription for short service, and armed with weapons which are in every way more effective than those used in the Great War. The inventive skill which early in the century revolutionized the industrial arts of manufacture and transport has later been applied to the military art ; and the great preservative of

peace has come to be the fear of using, in actual war, an untried armoury of destructive machines. During the last twenty years or so the states of Europe have diverted their activity from mutual wars to the easier and safer pursuit of exploiting the backward peoples of the earth; and the result of this development is that, whereas in 1815 the only colonial states of Europe were Great Britain, Holland, Spain and Russia, in 1900 France, Germany, Italy, and the United States have been added to the number of competitors. One of the great questions of the twentieth century will be whether the increased contact between white and coloured peoples will have good or evil results on both parties.

§ 507. Economic Features of the Victorian Era—One of the motives of this colonial activity of the European Powers has been the desire to secure markets for the goods manufactured in the home country. In this sphere of work there have been two conflicting ideals—the international ideal of “Free Trade,” and the national ideal of “Protection.” Some have advocated the breaking down of economic barriers (customs-dues and the like) between different countries, in the hope that free and unrestricted competition would enable the inhabitants of each country to obtain, without let or hindrance, what they needed from the countries which could supply best their needs. Others have advocated the policy of breaking down economic barriers inside states, but raising them against all foreigners in order to make each state as self-sufficing as possible, and to protect it from becoming dependent on others. About the middle of the nineteenth century, when many believed that a state of universal peace and brotherhood was both possible and desirable, Great Britain adopted a policy of Free Trade in the interests of her manufacturing population, and this policy she has ever since maintained. It was confidently expected by the champions of Free Trade that the rest of the civilized world would imitate the economic, as they were already imitating the political, ideals of Great Britain, and in 1851 a Great Exhibition was held in London to teach the world the beauties and delights of Peace and British Industrial Supremacy. Most other states, however,—even the self-governing Colonies of Great Britain—have adopted a policy of Protection; and it is not yet clear that their inhabitants are poorer or less contented than those of the British Isles in consequence. The improved facilities for communication (by cheap posts, telegraphs, and telephones) and transport (by railway and steamer) have diminished the physical obstacles in the way of intercourse

between different parts of the earth, but have increased rather than lessened the moral obstacles raised by mutual jealousies and conflicting interests.

§ 508. **Political Features of the Victorian Era.**—The middle third of the nineteenth century, when the dream of "universal peace" among the "nations" was most prevalent amongst earnest men, was also the flourishing period of "democracy"—the idea of "government of the people by the people for the people," as it was expressed by one of the great men of the century, Abraham Lincoln. During the latter part of the century the notion that democratic rule must necessarily be better in its results than monarchic or aristocratic rule has almost disappeared, but on the other hand the adoption of democratic principles, as the only possible working basis of government, has been general wherever English-speaking peoples have dwelt. In purely insular politics the great landmarks are the *Parliamentary Reform Acts* of 1832, 1867, and 1884-5, and the successive reform of Local Government on representative lines in the Borough (1835), the Shire (1888), and the Parish (1895). In imperial politics the great landmarks have been the grant of responsible self-government to all the great colonies situated in temperate climates—to Canada in 1840, to the principal Australian Colonies at intervals between 1850 and 1890, and to Cape Colony in 1872. For various reasons Ireland and India have not yet been treated in the same way.

§ 509. **Colonial Expansion during the Victorian Era**—The relations between Great Britain and her Colonies underwent during the Victorian Era and are still undergoing interesting transformations, the end of which it would be rash to prophesy. The general nature of the change has been this: Mother Country and Colonies, instead of regarding one another as necessary evils, have come to regard one another as linked by common sentiments and common interests against the rest of the world. At the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign her most important dependencies were India and the West Indies; and few suspected that the fringe of settlements in Canada, South Africa, and Australia would grow into vast territories, both populous and prosperous, and would develop various types of British citizen different from one another and from the provincial types in the British Isles themselves. Still less could any one have suspected that "the Dark Continent" of Africa would not only be explored, largely by British men, but also portioned out among Europeans, among whom the British would be not the least

successful. None the less the British Empire has grown continuously ; and whereas at Victoria's accession it embraced only one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, it had swollen to one-quarter before her death. So far this vast aggregation of lands and peoples gives more promise of holding together than of falling to pieces. In the palmy days of the little peoples—about the middle of the nineteenth century—it seemed only “natural” that the Colonies would assert their independence as they grew up ; but in these latter days the alternative to association on equal terms with Great Britain has seemed to be not independence but subordination to some other European Power. At the incoming of the twentieth century the growth of organic union among “all the Britains”—or even among all the English-speaking folk—would seem to be much more probable than the establishment of German unity or the continuance of the North American Union seemed a century ago. It scarcely seems possible that British types of civilization can continue to hold their own beside German, Russian, and French types without the adoption by the British peoples of some form of “Imperial Federation.”

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PEEL AND THE CORN LAWS, 1837-1846.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY.—Alexandrina Victoria, only child of Edward, Duke of Kent (*d* 1820), fourth son of George III, and Victoria Mary Louisa of Saxe-Coburg, was born at Kensington Palace, May 24, 1819, succeeded William IV as Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (her uncle Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, becoming King of Hanover), June 20, 1837, crowned at Westminster, June 28, 1838, married, February 10, 1840, her cousin Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (*d* December 14, 1861), by whom she had four sons and five daughters, proclaimed Empress of India, at Delhi, January 1, 1877, died January 22, 1901, buried in the Frogmore Mausoleum, near Windsor, succeeded by her eldest son, Albert Edward—the first British monarch of the House of Wettin—who took the title of “Edward VII.” For family connections, see Table, p 198

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

PAPACY	FRANCE	SPAIN	ITALY	AUSTRIA	PRUSSIA	RUSSIA
Gregory XIV (1831)	Louis Philippe (1830) Second Republic (1848)	Isabella II (1833-1868)	Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia (1819), of Italy (1861)	Ferdinand I (1835)	Frederick William III (1797) Frederick William IV (1840)	Nicholas I (1825)
Pius IX (1846)	Napoleon III Emp (1852)	Amadeus I (1870-1873) Alfonso XII (1874)	Humbert (1878)	Francis Joseph (1848)	William I (1861) German Emp (1871) Frederick III (1888) William II (1888)	Alexander II (1855)
Leo XIII (1878)	Third Republic (1870)	Alfonso XIII (1880)	Victor Emmanuel III (1900)			Alexander III (1881) Nicholas II (1894)

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

(1) International: relations with—

- (1) France § 515
- (2) Austria § 515
- (3) Turkey § 515
- (4) Russia § 515, 516
- (5) Afghanistan §§ 516, 517, 519
- (6) China § 517

(ii) Constitutional.

- (1) Ministers §§ 510, 518, 521
- (2) Corn Laws §§ 511, 512, 521.
- (3) Scotland § 520
- (4) Ireland §§ 520, 521
- (5) South Africa §§ 511, 514
- (6) Canada §§ 511, 513

I. END OF MELBOURNE'S MINISTRY, 1837-1841.

§ 510. **Character of Queen Victoria.**—William IV. was succeeded in Hanover (where the “Salic Law” prevailed) by his

brother Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, and in his British dominions by his niece Victoria, a girl of eighteen. She had been brought up by her widowed mother in a quiet and healthy manner; and her modest and dignified demeanour at once gained all hearts. After her accession, her political education was continued first by Lord Melbourne, whose only claim to the name of statesman lies in the careful and tactful training which he gave to the young Queen, and afterwards by her cousin and husband, Albert of Saxe-Coburg, whom she married in 1840, and who overcame British jealousy so far as to receive the title of Prince Consort in 1857. Under these circumstances Queen Victoria acquired the difficult and novel art of governing as a "constitutional monarch," and gradually weaned her subjects completely from the sentimental preference for republicanism which was common in the early part of her reign. It seems to be generally allowed that the well-known eulogy of Victoria prefixed to Tennyson's poems expresses the truth and is not mere courtly and poetical flattery.

§ 511. Early Troubles of Victoria's Reign.—The political outlook at Victoria's accession was far from bright. At home the Ministry was weak and helpless in face of the discontent which expressed itself in the Chartist movement and the Anti-Corn-Law League; as to the Colonies, Canada and South Africa were on the verge of rebellion; and the necessity of guarding India was giving rise to serious difficulties in Afghanistan, China, and the Levant. Almost the only pleasant feature in her opening years was the adoption in 1839 of Rowland Hill's scheme for the transmission of inland letters at the uniform charge of one penny prepaid. The substitution of low rates for high rates of postage had similar effects to the previous substitution of low customs dues for high customs dues, in increasing both the revenue of the State and the conveniences of its subjects. Cheap postage was rendered easier by the growth of railways and steamships, and in 1838-1840 it began to be supplemented by the use of the electric telegraph.

§ 512. British Social Discontent, 1837-1841—The various reforms, legislative and administrative, political and economic, of the thirties (ch. xxvii) had diminished but not removed the causes of social discontent in Britain. As a matter of fact, a considerable proportion of the inhabitants could not earn enough money to buy sufficient food to keep themselves alive, still less to live in comfort. In 1838 two distinct methods of dealing with this difficulty were definitely put forward. Some believed that, if "the people" had

more political power, they would be able to put an end to their troubles, and they therefore drew up a *People's Charter*, advocating annual Parliaments, manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of property qualifications for members of parliament, and payment of members. Some of the Chartists, especially Feargus O'Connor, wished to carry out their views by persuasion, and were therefore known as "Moral Force Chartists", while others thought that the middle classes could be moved only by violence, and were therefore known as "Physical Force Chartists." In 1839 the latter party got up serious riots in Newport, South Wales and elsewhere. About the same time there was formed an association with the object of procuring a reduction in the price of food, not by the circuitous method of political reforms, but by the direct method of getting the Corn Laws repealed. In 1839 an Anti-Corn-Law League was formed in Manchester by Richard Cobden and Charles Villiers, both Lancashire men; and a few years later these men were joined by John Bright, whose great gifts of speech proved of much service to the cause.

§ 513. **Canada and Lord Durham's Report, 1837-1840.**—The troubles which broke out in Canada in 1837 were due partly to the continuance of friction between French Roman Catholics and British Protestants, and partly to the constitutional limitations under which the legislative assemblies of the two provinces had been placed by the Act of 1791. In 1838 Lord Durham was sent out with full powers to deal with the difficulty; and he promptly suppressed rebellion and drew up a report advocating the union of the provinces under a single governor, ruling with the advice of the leaders of a representative assembly. These Liberal recommendations of Lord Durham and his dictatorial conduct in dealing with "rebels" exposed him respectively to the attacks of his Tory opponents and his Whig friends; and he was literally "worried to death" in less than two years after his high appointment. His report was, however, to a large extent adopted; and its first-fruits were the passing of the *Canada Act of Union* in 1840. This measure was the first of a long series of Acts granting full powers of self-government to such Colonies as seemed able and wishful to take the responsibility out of the hands of the distant officials in Downing Street.

§ 514. **The Great Trek of the Boers, 1835-1843.**—The contemporary troubles in South Africa arose mainly out of the Abolition of Slavery in 1833, and took the form not of rebellion

but of removal. The Dutch farmers or Boers in Cape Colony believed that they had rights over the natives similar to those which the Hebrew patriarchs claimed over "the Canaanites that dwell in the land"; and they bitterly resented the partiality shown by the British missionaries and by the Home Government towards "persons with black skins and savage habits." Unable to turn the Government from its purposes they resolved to seek greater "liberty" in the wilderness, and in 1835 there began the Great Trek, resulting in the foundation of settlements north of the Orange River and in Natal. Sir George Napier, the Governor of Cape Colony in 1838, explicitly denied that the Boers could by emigration "be absolved from their allegiance as British subjects"; and in 1843 he took formal possession of Natal—where the Boers had been involved in serious struggles with the Zulu inhabitants.

§ 515. **Palmerston's Second Quadruple Alliance, 1840.**—In 1839 there broke out a fresh war between the Sultan of Turkey and the Pasha of Egypt which revealed a temporary disagreement between Great Britain and France. Palmerston believed that it was possible to make Turkey a strong Power capable of efficient government at home and of keeping Russia at bay. the ministers of Louis Philippe were for the time being more disposed to favour Mehemet Ali. Hence in 1840 Palmerston entered into an alliance not with France but with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, for settling "the Eastern Question" of the day. Russia agreed to abandon her exclusive rights to navigate the Dardanelles; and Mehemet Ali was impelled—partly by Sir Charles Napier's bombardment of Acre—to withdraw from Syria and accept instead the hereditary pashalik of Egypt. For a moment it seemed possible that the quarrel between France and Great Britain might deepen into war; but in 1840 Louis Philippe dismissed the bellicose Thiers and gave his post to the more pacific Guizot; and in 1841 Palmerston was superseded by a less aggressive Foreign Minister, Lord Aberdeen.

§ 516. **The First Afghán War, 1838-1842**—While Great Britain was co-operating with Russia in the Near East, she was exhibiting her suspicions of that Power in the Far East. In 1838 Dost Muhammad Khán, Amír of Afghánistán, received a Russian mission at his capital, Kábul; and Lord Auckland, the Governor-General in India (1836-1842), at once replied by declaring war and invading Afghánistán to set up a friendly prince, Sháh Shújá, as Amír. In 1839 British troops captured Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kábul and established Sháh Shújá. In the early days of 1842 the

small British force was compelled to abandon Kábul; and out of sixteen thousand troops and camp-followers who began the retreat only one, Dr. Brydon, reached Jellalabad alive. This disaster was avenged by Sale and Pollock; but in the end the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, deemed it expedient to leave Dost Muhammad in possession of the throne. Thus was the first and most disastrous of many British adventures on the North-West Frontier of India.

§ 517. **First Chinese War, 1839-1842**—While thus being involved in political troubles to the west of India, Great Britain was being dragged into commercial troubles to the east of India by the pushfulness of the merchants. The abolition of the monopoly of the East India Company in the Chinese trade in 1833 had led to a great increase in the traffic with that country. The Chinese authorities disapproved of the influx of western barbarians and especially of their importing opium; and in 1839 they seized £6,000,000 worth of opium, the property of British merchants in China. The result was a war in which the Chinese were defeated, and by the *Treaty of Nan-King*, 1842, China paid an indemnity for the opium and for the cost of the war, threw open Canton and four other "treaty-ports" to British trade, and ceded the island of Hong-Kong. On this barren island there sprang up a town, named Victoria, which became the chief emporium of the trade between China and Europe. Already in 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles had obtained for Great Britain in Singapore a valuable half-way house between India or Ceylon and China, and in 1839 British troops had occupied Aden, which proved an almost equally useful port of call on the eastern portion of the overland route to India, *via* Egypt, that was now again coming into active use.

II. PEEL'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1841-1846.

§ 518. **Fall of the Melbourne Ministry, 1841.**—Before the close of the Afghan and the Chinese Wars the Melbourne Ministry had ceased to exist. It had already stopped working for a moment in 1839, but had been started again because the Queen and Peel failed to come to terms on "the Bedchamber Question." Regarding the young Queen as particularly susceptible to the influence of her attendants, Peel insisted that the Whig ladies of the Royal Household should be removed; and failing to get his own way on the point, he refused to take office. In 1841 this domestic difficulty was solved by the voluntary resignation of the ladies involved. A

General Election had resulted in the return of a strong Conservative majority; and Melbourne, being defeated on a question of Free Trade, gladly laid down the cares of office in August 1841. His most notable memorial is the town which bears his name, the capital of a colony named after his young mistress, a town which has become the finest in the Southern Hemisphere.

§ 519. **Indian Questions, 1841-1846**—During his second ministry Peel continued his work of effecting quiet reforms of an unsensational type; and the only striking events in the political history of his ministry are those connected with his conversion to Free Trade in Corn. The period was marked by stirring events abroad. The Ashburton Treaty of 1842 with the United States delimited the boundaries of Maine in a manner which has permanently crippled schemes for an all-British route across North America. As in the later (1846) delimitation of the boundary of British North America further to the west, the British representatives allowed themselves to be completely hoodwinked by the superior local knowledge of the American diplomats. Meanwhile in the East Sir Charles Napier conquered and annexed Sindh, on the lower Indus, in 1842, and in 1845-6 the Sikhs who dwelt higher up the Indus basin made war in order to stave off the same fate from themselves. The Sikhs proved at this time to be the most formidable of the native opponents of British rule in India, as later they came to be its firmest supporters. In December 1845 Sir Hugh Gough won a battle at Moodkee; in January 1846 Sir Harry Smith gained another victory a little further north at Aliwal, and in February the two generals together achieved a crowning triumph at Sohraon. In consequence of these defeats, the Sikhs were compelled to admit a British resident (Sir Henry Lawrence) into their capital at Lahore.

§ 520. **Scottish and Irish Questions, 1842-1846**—Nearer home Peel's ministry witnessed notable developments in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland the old standing discontent with the system of lay patronage which had been imposed on the Scottish Church by English Tories in 1712 culminated in 1843 in the formation, by Dr. Chalmers, of the 'Free Church of Scotland.' This "Disruption" split the National Church of Scotland into two almost equal parts, and thereby did much to prevent Scottish Presbyterianism from bulking so largely in the eyes of the lay observer as English Episcopalianism. The Disruption, however, like the contemporary Oxford Movement, was a sign of growing interest in ecclesiastical and religious questions. Meanwhile Ireland was undergoing a kind

of political disruption. Alongside of O'Connell there was springing up another school of Irish agitators, headed by Thomas Davis and Charles Gavan Duffy, and known as "Young Ireland," who believed that salvation for Ireland was to be found by adopting English methods of politics and industry. In 1843 the Government prohibited a monster meeting at Clontarf at which O'Connell was going to advocate the repeal of the Union, and O'Connell's acquiescence weakened his influence. The leaders of the Young Ireland movement did not get much profit from the disappearance of their rival, because Ireland became absorbed in more pressing questions. In 1845 and 1846 the potato crop failed, the Irish peasantry perished wholesale by famine; and vast numbers escaped starvation only by emigration. During the years 1845-1850 the population of Ireland decreased by nearly two millions.

§ 521. **Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846.**—The Irish Famine made relief imperative; and the Government found that relief was made not only more costly but also more difficult through the prohibitive duties imposed on food stuffs under the Corn Laws of 1815 and following years. Towards the end of 1845 Peel announced his conversion to the principles of the Anti-Corn-Law League; but many of his colleagues refused to follow him in offending the agricultural classes to whom they mainly owed their parliamentary majority. Peel therefore resigned in December, but resumed office on Lord John Russell's failure to form a ministry; and in June he carried a measure gradually taking off the duties on imported corn. He carried his Bill only by the help of the Whigs, for many of the Conservatives, headed by Lord George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli, an eccentric young man of Jewish descent, bitterly resented Peel's change of front. A few days later Peel's old allies and his new ones alike deserted him on an Irish Coercion Bill; and being defeated, he resigned office. He had saved many human lives by his concession of cheap corn, but he had for the time being wrecked the Conservative party; and for the next twenty years the Whigs enjoyed an almost unbroken spell of power (ch. XXIX.).

CHAPTER XXIX.

PALMERSTON AND DERBY, 1846-1865

A. PERSONAL HISTORY OF VICTORIA } See Chapter XXVIII.
B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

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| <p>(i) International: relations with—</p> <p>(1) France §§ 522, 524, 525, 532-535, 541</p> <p>(2) Russia §§ 532-535 541</p> <p>(3) Turkey §§ 532-535</p> <p>(4) Sardinia §§ 524, 534, 541</p> <p>(5) Switzerland § 522.</p> <p>(6) Burma § 531.</p> <p>(7) Persia § 536</p> <p>(8) China § 536</p> <p>(9) United States § 542.</p> | <p>(ii) Constitutional.</p> <p>(1) Ministers §§ 522, 525, 527, 528, 534, 539, 540</p> <p>(2) Domestic Events §§ 523, 526, 540, 542</p> <p>(3) Parliamentary Reform §§ 539, 540</p> <p>(4) Ireland §§ 523, 524.</p> <p>(5) Australia § 528</p> <p>(6) South Africa § 530</p> <p>(7) India §§ 531, 536-538</p> |
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I. RUSSELL, DERBY AND ABERDEEN, 1846-1855

§ 522. **The Spanish Marriages, 1846**—Sir Robert Peel was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord John Russell, who formed an administration consisting mainly of Whigs, but with Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary. Palmerston's restoration to office caused almost immediately a return to the unfriendly relations with France which had marked the close of his previous term of office. While Aberdeen was in charge of foreign affairs, Victoria and Louis Philippe had exchanged visits, and the relations between the two states had been friendly, and even intimate. In 1845 Louis Philippe had promised that his younger son, the Duke of Montpensier, should not marry the Infanta of Spain until her sister; Queen Isabella II, had an heir; this promise had been made because British politicians of Victoria's reign, like their predecessors in Anne's reign, disliked contemplating the possibility of the personal union of France and Spain. In October 1846, shortly after Palmerston had replaced Aberdeen, Louis Philippe broke his promises and procured the simultaneous marriages of the Spanish sisters. Palmerston could not prevent the marriage; but he took his revenge in the following year by checkmating French schemes of intervention in Switzerland

— then engaged in the civil war of the Sonderbund, which ended in the establishment of the enlightened democratic and federal constitution of that country. In the long run, the schemes of Louis Philippe to increase the prestige of his family by the Spanish Marriages not only failed but helped to bring about his sudden and complete overthrow in 1848.

§ 523 **Young Ireland and the Chartists, 1846-1848** — Meanwhile Russell's Ministry had been much harassed by the various Irish questions which had given Peel much trouble, but which he had handled in a spirit of sympathy and firmness quite exceptional in an English politician. In the first place, both the potato famine and the disorder which arose partly out of the famine continued; and in 1847 the Government met these difficulties by making a grant of £10,000,000 for relief and by passing a new Coercion Act. The money was so ill-administered that it did little either to save life or to check the discontent increased by the measures of repression, and in 1848 a short-lived rebellion broke out under Smith O'Brien, the leader of the more violent section of the "Young Ireland" movement. In the same year there was an equally abortive "rising" in England. Feargus O'Connor declared his intention of marching at the head of half a million men from Kennington to Westminster to present the *People's Charter* (§ 512) to the House of Commons, but his followers proved less enthusiastic than the special constables sworn in by the Government, and the great demonstration was a fiasco.

§ 524. **The Year of Revolutions, 1848-1849** — The Chartist demonstration in London, April 1848, and the Irish insurrection in July 1848 were amongst the most insignificant outbursts of that "year of revolutions." In February Louis Philippe was suddenly expelled from France for refusing to extend the franchise, and a Republic was set up which in December accepted Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Napoleon's younger brother Louis, as its President. In March there broke out in Vienna, North Italy, Hungary, and various other parts of the dominions of the Emperor of Austria, rebellions which at first seemed likely to be successful, but which were put down in the course of a year or so. Further north, there were disturbances in Prussia, and in May a national parliament for the whole of Germany met at Frankfurt. The various revolutionary movements, whether constitutional or national in motive, failed everywhere; and their only substantial results were the fall of the Austrian minister Metternich and the French King, Louis Philippe.

§ 525. **The Queen and Lord Palmerston, 1850-1851.**—These disturbances in Europe led to the establishment of an important constitutional principle in Great Britain. Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, represented the views of the majority of his fellow-countrymen in disliking the two extremes of anarchy on the one side and despotism on the other, and was therefore popular with the mass of the nation. But his fondness for "making a hit off his own bat" (as he himself put it) annoyed both his colleagues and his royal mistress, and in 1850 some unguarded words of praise for Kossuth, the Magyar exile who was denouncing the Hungarian policy of the Austrian Emperor, brought on him a severe but deserved reprimand from the Queen. Her memorandum stated that she required Lord Palmerston to say distinctly what he proposed to do, and not to alter or modify proposals to which she had given her sanction, to supply her with full accounts of what passed between him and the secretaries of the Powers, and to send her drafts of his letters early enough to enable her to make herself acquainted with their contents before they were sent off. Palmerston had to submit to these rules, but he soon afterwards again got into trouble. In December 1851 Louis Napoleon carried out a brutal and treacherous *coup d'état* in order to make permanent his presidency of the French Republic, and Palmerston incautiously expressed to the French Ambassador his private opinion that the President could not have done differently. This opinion being blazed abroad, Lord John Russell compelled Palmerston to resign, and gave his post to Earl Granville. Two months later when Russell introduced a Bill to raise a force of militia against possible French aggression, Palmerston took his revenge by defeating Russell on a verbal amendment. Russell seized the opportunity to resign.

§ 526. **The Great Exhibition, 1851.**—The most notable legislation of these years was Fielden's *Factory Act* of 1847, which limited the working day of women and children in factories to ten hours, the *Treason-Felony Act* of 1848, the repeal of the *Navigation Acts* in 1849 and Russell's *Ecclesiastical Titles Act*, 1852, which made it unlawful for Roman Catholic Bishops to use the territorial titles recently bestowed by Pope Pius IX. But the most representative event of the period was the Great Exhibition held in Hyde Park in 1851. This, the pioneer of many similar enterprises, was set on foot mainly through the influence of Prince Albert, and was intended to show the world the blessings of peace and to mark the close of wars among civilized states. Here the promoters were over

sanguine; but the popularity and success of the Exhibition as a spectacle illustrated the great changes which had been wrought in men's habits through the quickening and cheapening of the means of communication. The vast crowds which thronged the "Crystal Palace"—as Paxton's glass and iron building has become known in its permanent site at Sydenham—could never have been brought together but for the steam locomotive. Railways had now passed beyond the stage of experiment, and had been patronized even by conservatives like Wellington (who died in 1852) and by exalted personages like the Queen.

§ 527 Lord Derby's First Ministry, February–December, 1852.—There was some difficulty as to Russell's successor. Palmerston—who had begun political life as a moderate Tory, though he had since served with the Whigs—was not in a position to take the vacant place, the Peelite section of the Conservatives, never very numerous, had been still further weakened by the death of Peel in July 1850, and the only party left was the Protectionist wing of the Conservatives. Their original leader, Bentinck, had died in 1848, and their chiefs were now the Earl of Derby, who became First Lord of the Treasury and Premier, and Disraeli, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. A General Election resulted in a House of Commons in which the Ministry could obtain a majority over the Liberals only by throwing overboard its policy of Protection, and even so it was defeated in December, mainly in consequence of Gladstone's attacks on Disraeli's Budget.

§ 528. Formation of the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry, December 1852.—On Derby's consequent resignation a Coalition Ministry was formed by Whigs and Peelites. The principal Peelites were Aberdeen and Gladstone, who became Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer respectively. The chief Whigs were Russell, who went to the Foreign Office, and Palmerston who took the Home Office, jauntily remarking "that it was a good thing for a man to learn something about his fellow countrymen." Disraeli had recently asserted that "England does not love coalitions"; and certainly England soon found that she had little cause to love this particular one. It was largely because of differences of opinion within its ranks that the Ministry blundered into the Crimean War, which was its most notable exploit. But before we tell that story, it will be convenient to deal with various remarkable events that had happened oversea during the Russell-Derby periods.

§ 529. Australian Colonies Act, 1850.—The year of the Great Exhibition was also marked by the discovery of gold in Australia; and this event had an even greater influence in increasing the population and wealth of the Australian Colonies than the previous introduction of sheep-farming on a large scale. In 1850 Russell's Ministry had passed an Act extending to most of these colonies methods of government similar to those which had been introduced into Canada ten years earlier, and which had there been successfully applied through the genius of Lord Elgin (1847-1854). This principle, known as responsible self-government, recognized that the needs of a distant community of British citizens were more likely to be known to themselves than to a frequently-changed official in Downing Street. Though the details varied at different times and places, the common feature was the concession of full parliamentary powers (including some control over the administration) to the colonial legislature, under the control of a Governor, appointed by the Crown and representative of the Crown, who, however, had to rule by the advice of ministers in whom the local legislature had confidence. The colonies to which the new system was applicable were New South Wales, founded in 1788, South Australia, founded on novel lines by Edward Gibbon Wakefield in 1836, and Victoria, separated from the mother-colony of New South Wales in 1850. Western Australia, founded in 1829, was still too backward a state to be granted such full autonomy; and Van Diemen's Land—known after 1855 as Tasmania, after the name of its first discoverer—was still too full of convicts or ex-convicts, which had been shipped there in enormous numbers after New South Wales ceased to receive them in 1840. New Zealand, which had been formally annexed in 1839, and which was and is wholly different in climate and population from Australia, received a constitution in 1852. Some people feared, and others hoped, that the new colonial system would result in the establishment of colonial independence; but the establishment in 1854 of a separate Secretaryship of State for the Colonies (administered by the Secretary of War since 1801) does not point to the conclusion that the Aberdeen Ministry expected the Colonies to "cut the painter" in the near future.

§ 530 Troubles in South Africa, 1846-1854.—The experiments of the Russell and Aberdeen Ministries themselves in Australia had more fortunate consequences than their contemporary experiments in South Africa. British statesmen valued Cape Colony solely as a station on the road to India; they were acquainted with the

difficulties (though not with their exact nature) caused by the presence of large numbers of natives and of Dutch farmers; and they were not yet acquainted with the mineral wealth of the interior. Naturally, therefore, they were anxious not to extend British territories and responsibilities in so unremunerative and troublesome a region; and they often preferred their own opinion, necessarily based on imperfect knowledge, to that of the "man on the spot." Now the Russell-Aberdeen period happened to be a time of "great proconsuls"—Elgin in Canada, Dalhousie in India, and Sir Harry Smith in South Africa. In 1843 Smith—who has left his mark on South African place-names—formally annexed the region between the Orange and the Vaal rivers as the Orange River Sovereignty; and he defeated at Boomplatz the minority among the emigrant Boers who objected to British rule. Smith also brought to a successful conclusion wars against the Kaffirs and the Basutos, and successfully resisted the attempt of Lord Grey to use the Cape as a penal settlement. Before he left, however, he was compelled to make the *Sand River Convention*, 1852, which recognized the complete independence of the Boers north of the river Vaal, and in 1854, after his departure, the *Convention of Bloemfontein* thrust similar independence upon the unwilling Boers who dwelt between the Transvaal and Basutoland. The South African Republic and the Orange Free State were destined to give much trouble to the successors of the British Ministers who had thus light-heartedly given them legal sanction.

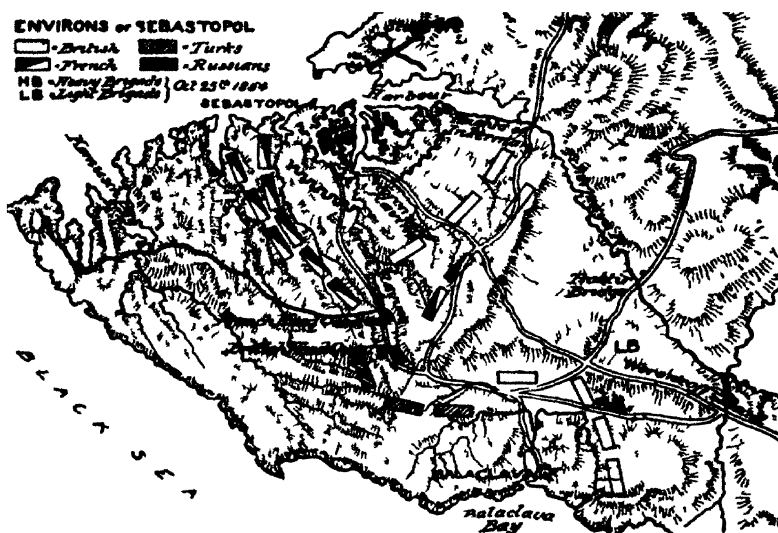
§ 531 **Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship in India, 1848–1856.**—Lord Dalhousie was more fortunate than Sir Harry Smith in being less subject to the intervention of the Home Government, and his Governor-Generalship in India is one of the great landmarks of British dominion in the East. In many ways he combined the excellences of Wellesley, the territorial expander, and Bentinck, the social reformer, of British India. His chief work as a social reformer consisted in the strenuous suppression of corrupt or ineffective government, whether in British India proper or in the protected states, and in the inauguration of great public works, such as canals and railways. His principal annexations, made partly for purposes of frontier defence and partly to secure better government, were the Punjab (1849), Pegu (1852), and Oudh (1856). The Punjab, annexed after the Sikhs had been defeated in hard-fought battles at Chillianwallah and Gújrat, was organized by the brothers John and Henry Lawrence in such a way that the Sikhs proved the staunchest allies of Great Britain in the trying period of the Mutiny. The annexation

of Pegu, at the close of the Second Burmese War, established the Company on the lower Irrawady, and the transfer of the rich province of Oudh from a debauched Nawáb to the Company, strengthened British hold on the Ganges basin and bettered the condition of the inhabitants. It also helped to bring on the Mutiny (§ 535).

II. THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1854-1858.

§ 532. **The Eastern Question, 1852-1854** —The weakness of the Aberdeen Ministry and the strength of its Indian representative, Lord Dalhousie, led to events in the East and the Far East which form the most conspicuous features in British history between the Napoleonic and the Boer Wars. In the Near East, the Ministry drifted into war with Russia; in the Far East, Dalhousie's successors had to deal with the most dangerous of all the Indian risings; and it was fortunate for Great Britain that these two troubles were not simultaneous. The Russian War arose primarily out of the desire of Russia to increase her hold on Turkey, and out of the desire of Louis Napoleon—who had become Emperor of the French under the title of Napoleon III. in 1852—to strengthen his position by a brilliant foreign policy. The actual occasion of the War was provided by ecclesiastical disputes which it is an insult to religion to call "religious." There were long-standing quarrels between Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic monks as to the custody of the Holy Places in Palestine; and when Nicholas I warmly supported the Greeks, Napoleon III—not wholly uninfluenced by the Tzar's contempt for the upstart French Emperor and by a desire to gratify the Papacy—retaliated by taking up the cause of the Latins. When the Sultan decided in favour of the Roman Catholics, the Tzar revived his claims—under the *Treaty of Kutchuk-Kanardji*, 1774—to a general protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte, and enforced them by occupying the vassal states of Wallachia and Moldavia in July 1853. A Congress of the Great Powers at Vienna drew up terms of settlement which were accepted by the Tzar but which were rejected by the Sultan, at the instance of Sir Stratford Canning, the masterful ambassador of Great Britain at Constantinople. Thereupon Russia declared war against Turkey in November, crossed the Danube and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. In December Palmerston resigned in order to force the Ministry to active measures; Great Britain and France joined in sending an ultimatum to Nicholas, threatening war unless he withdrew his troops from Turkish soil; and in March 1854 war was formally declared.

§ 533. **The Crimean War, 1854-1855.**—France, owing to her constant wars for the conquest of Algeria (since 1830), was less unprepared for war than was Great Britain, whose own army (as distinguished from the Indian army) had not been on active service since Waterloo; and as the Allied Powers had set themselves to attack an almost inaccessible state, they naturally boggled over their work. A British fleet, consisting of the untried arm of steam war-vessels under Sir Charles Napier, blockaded the Russian ports on the Baltic. A joint fleet, which had already been sent to the Black Sea, bombarded Odessa in April, and assisted in the work of



transporting troops and supplies. A joint land force of the Allies spent the summer catching cholera at Varna; and when winter was at hand, it was decided to convey this force to the Crimea and capture the Russian arsenal of S bastopol. In the middle of September about 55,000 troops (less than half of which were British) were landed at Eupatori and marched southwards. They defeated the Russians at the battle of the Alma (September 20), and, after throwing away their chance of storming Sebastopol, before it could be fortified, they laid formal siege to the place. The British troops drew their supplies from the port of Balaclava, on the south coast of the Chersonese; and it was in defending that port against Mentchikoff's Russians that the famous charges of the Heavy and

the Light Brigades were made on October 25. Ten days later, a joint attack on the British lines by the Russians was defeated in the confused fight at Inkerman. All these were "soldiers' battles"—battles, that is, which were decided not by skill in generalship but by sheer hard fighting, in which the British, whether through more dogged courage or through superior weapons, happened to win. Then came the winter, which revealed short-comings in the commissariat equal to those in the generalship and more fatal in the results. British troops died wholesale of hunger and cold in the trenches before Sebastopol, and in January 1855 Lord Raglan, the British commander, reported that more than half of his 24,000 troops were in hospital.

§ 534. The War Correspondent and the Ministry, 1855.—Avoidable hardships have been the common lot of the common soldier in all ages, but in this case there arose a new power—the War Correspondent—to make these hardships known to the fellow-countrymen of the sufferers. Russell, the representative of *The Times* in the Crimea, gave such accounts of the state of things at the front that there was a general outcry against the Ministry; and when in January 1855 Roebuck carried a motion for inquiry into the conduct of the war, Lord Aberdeen resigned. Lord John Russell and the Earl of Derby having both failed to form a Cabinet, Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister. His colleagues consisted mainly of the Whig members of the Aberdeen Ministry; but its Peelite members declined to serve under him. Sidney Herbert, the Peelite Secretary of State for War under Aberdeen, had already sent out Florence Nightingale to reorganize the hospital service at Scutari; but it was left to Palmerston to put things in order in the Crimea itself. A railway was built from Balaclava to the camp, which was thus supplied promptly with food and clothing; and fresh energy was displayed in the siege operations, in which, however, during 1855 the French took a more prominent part than the British. In January, the King of Sardinia, eager to win the good-will of the Western Powers towards his ambitious schemes in Italy (§ 541), joined France and Great Britain, in February the Tzar Nicholas died of grief at the comparative failure of his troops; though a series of changes in the French and British commanders delayed the siege operations, Sebastopol fell in September; and in December the new Tzar Alexander II. asked for peace.

§ 535. The Peace of Paris, March 1856.—A Conference was held at Paris in which Napoleon III., having won all the prestige

he wanted, showed himself eager for peace, while Palmerston did his best to secure the permanent weakening of Russia in the interests both of Turkey and of Great Britain. Under these circumstances the resultant *Peace of Paris* was a compromise which really settled nothing and which, as Palmerston partly foresaw, merely annoyed Russia without strengthening Turkey. The independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire was recognized by Russia and guaranteed by the Powers, the Powers, including Russia, abandoned their conflicting claims to the protection of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, who, however, promised to accord them better treatment, and in order to diminish the powers of Russia for aggression, Wallachia and Moldavia were erected into independent states under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey, and Russia was pledged to destroy the fortifications of Sebastopol and to abstain from keeping a war fleet in the Black Sea. These terms were commonly thought at the time to be a great triumph for Great Britain.

§ 536. **Persian and Chinese Wars, 1856 1857.**—The year's interval between the conclusion of the Crimean War and the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny was marked by the commencement of two "little wars" in the Far East. In October 1856 Persia, which was already falling under the influence of Russia, seized Herat, but was speedily compelled by a British demonstration in the Persian Gulf to abandon her conquest to the Amir of Afghanistan. In October 1856 a Chinese official seized the lorcha *Arrow*, a boat unlawfully sailing under British colours, and the bombardment of Canton, to punish this "insult to the British flag," led to a Second Chinese War in which France took part. The joint forces occupied Canton in December 1857, bombarded the forts at the mouth of the Peiho in May 1858, and captured Peking in October 1860. This last event closed a somewhat dragging war by compelling China to confirm a *Treaty of Tientsin*, made in 1858, which legalized the introduction into China of opium, ambassadors and missionaries. The affair of the lorcha *Arrow* illustrates one special feature of Palmerston's foreign policy. He was bent on giving to a British subject, the wide world over, the same sort of protection which, to use his own words, was once accorded by the saying, "*Civis Romanns sum.*" When Cobden carried a resolution condemning the Chinese War (March 1857) Palmerston dissolved Parliament and was rewarded by an increased majority.

§ 537. **Causes of the Indian Mutiny, 1857.**—One reason why the Second Chinese War dragged on so long was the pre-

occupation of British forces in India. There Dalhousie's annexations had caused considerable anxiety and vexation among the native princes, recent land settlements had annoyed the larger landowners, especially in Oudh, by favouring the actual cultivators of the soil, and religious prejudices had been offended by the equipment of the native sepoys with rifles which required greased cartridges. Those who cherished these and other grievances thought that they had a good opportunity for vengeance in the fact that the British troops in India were few and scattered. The discontent was most widespread in the native regiments in the North-West Provinces; and in May 1857 some of these, stationed at Meerut, broke out into open mutiny, shot their officers, and stirred up similar mutinies in the neighbouring camps. Bengal and the greater part of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies kept quiet; and the Sikhs of the Punjab had been so well used by Sir John Lawrence that they gave active help to the British. The main incidents in the struggle was the massacre of Cawnpore and the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow. The Europeans at Cawnpore surrendered in June, after a month's siege and were butchered. At Delhi, where a descendant of the Moguls had been set up as Emperor, the mutineers themselves were besieged from May to September by troops from the Punjab under John Nicholson. At Lucknow a handful of British troops under Sir Henry Lawrence held the ill-fortified Residency from May till September, when they were relieved by Sir Henry Havelock, and again on till November, when they were brought away by Lord Clyde, the Sir Colin Campbell of Crimea fame. Clyde reoccupied Lucknow in March 1858, and in June the Mutiny was finally crushed by the capture of Gwalior.

§ 538. *Results of the Indian Mutiny, 1858.*—The rising failed partly because it was, for the most part, a military, not a national movement, partly because it did not spread all over India; partly because the Hindus and the Muhammadans did not work well together; but above all because nearly all the British officers displayed a resourcefulness which matched the courage and endurance of the troops and civilians under their care. The most enduring results of the Mutiny were the re-organization of the Indian army and the transfer of Indian administration from the Company to the Crown. Preparations for such a transfer had been made when the Company's Charter had been renewed in 1853—not for twenty years, as heretofore, but simply until Parliament should determine otherwise. The *Indian Government Act* of 1858 placed the control of

British India in the hands of a new Secretary of State, responsible to Parliament, and represented in India by a Governor-General. George Canning's son, Lord Canning, who had succeeded Dalhousie, was continued in office and was thus the first Governor General in India who can be called "Viceroy."

III DERBY AND PALMERSTON, 1858-1865.

§ 539. **The Second Derby Ministry, February 1858-June 1859.**—Before the Indian Mutiny was suppressed Palmerston had been succeeded by Lord Derby as Prime Minister. In January 1858 an Italian named Orsini had tried to murder Napoleon III. with a bomb made in England, and Palmerston at once brought in a *Conspiracy to Murder Bill* by which it was made penal to concoct on British soil such plots against foreign rulers. But the report that French military officers were urging the Emperor to lead them against England as a "lair of criminals," caused many people to regard Palmerston's Bill as truckling to France, and in February his measure was defeated by a combination of Radicals, Peelites, and Conservatives. On his resignation a Conservative Ministry was formed in which Lord Derby was First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister, and Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons; while a future leader of the Conservative party, Lord Cranborne, afterwards Marquess of Salisbury held a minor office. This second Derby Ministry, like the first, was short-lived but notable. It passed the *India Act*, supported the Volunteer movement inspired by fear of France, ended a long-standing quarrel by admitting Jews to Parliament, abolished the property qualifications for members of Parliament, and introduced a *Reform Bill* assimilating the county and borough franchises. This Bill was rejected in March 1859 mainly because Disraeli had proposed to supplement the usual household qualifications by various qualifications resting on education and savings—scornfully described by Bright as "fancy franchises." A General Election failed to give the Ministry a majority in the House of Commons; and Lord Derby accordingly resigned.

§ 540 **Palmerston's Second Ministry, 1859-1865.**—Lord Granville having failed to form a Government, Palmerston undertook the task and remained in office till his death in October 1865. His second Ministry was marked by many stirring events abroad—especially in Italy, Germany and the United States—but by an almost complete quietude in home affairs. The question of further

Parliamentary Reform was left to private members after a preparatory Bill introduced by Lord John Russell had died through lack of public interest in it; and almost the only events in purely domestic politics were Lowe's introduction of the principle of "payment by results" (abolished in 1890) in allotting the Education Grant, and a curious quarrel between the Lords and the Commons on a point of privilege. In 1860 Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to abolish the duty on paper, partly in order to facilitate the publication of books and periodical literature; the House of Lords rejected the measure, and the House of Commons expressed its resentment by resolving that the power of the Lords to reject money-bills "has not been frequently exercised," and therefore "is justly regarded with peculiar jealousy." This constitutional difficulty was overcome in 1861 by including the abolition of the Paper Duty in a general money-bill which the Lords shrank from rejecting. In the same year the Prince Consort died, and the Queen gave way to grief so far as practically to withdraw from public life for many years.

§ 541 Lord Palmerston and Europe, 1859-1865.—Quite early in 1859 it became obvious that the French restlessness against which the Volunteer movement of 1858 had been directed would be diverted elsewhere, and in 1860 Palmerston gratified his life-long critic, Richard Cobden, by allowing him to negotiate a commercial treaty whereby France and Great Britain admitted each other's goods on more favourable terms than those of other countries. Meanwhile Napoleon III had been persuaded by Cavour to help Sardinia to expel the Austrians from Italy, but after winning victories at Magenta and Solferino, he made peace in July, securing Lombardy from Austria for his ally and Savoy and Nice from his ally for himself. A little later, after several of the states in Northern Italy had voluntarily joined themselves to Sardinia, and Garibaldi had expelled the Bourbons from the kingdom of the two Sicilies and had handed it over to Sardinia, Napoleon sent troops to protect Rome from following the example of these states, and accordingly when an Italian Congress declared Victor Emmanuel King of Italy in March 1861, the capital had to be fixed at Florence, not at Rome. In 1863 Palmerston joined with Austria and France in protesting against Russian severity in crushing a Polish insurrection and was snubbed for his pains; and in 1864 his attempt to persuade Austria and Prussia not to take the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark was wholly unsuccessful. In the course of 1864 Lord

Derby characterized the foreign policy of the Government as one of "meddle and muddle," and Disraeli attacked it in a motion which was lost by less than twenty votes, but it may be doubted whether they could have done more for the Poles or for the Danes had they themselves been in office.

§ 542 **Palmerston and America, 1861-1865**—By far the most important foreign event, however, during Palmerston's Second Ministry was the Civil War in the United States of America. There were all manner of differences in origin, climate, temperament and economic conditions between the northern and the southern states in the Union, and when Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1860, these differences came to a head over the questions of slavery and state-rights. Early in 1861 the southern states formally seceded from the Union and formed a Confederation under Jefferson Davis which for some time seemed likely to establish its independence. The most important effect of the Civil War on Great Britain was the fact that the naval superiority of the northern states enabled them to blockade the southern ports and so caused a cotton famine which brought Lancashire to the verge of starvation. Had the Lancashire operatives demanded active alliance with the southern Confederation in order to obtain a supply of cotton, they would probably have turned the scale in favour of war against the Federal Government. British opinion was much divided on the whole the educated classes favoured the South, while the masses, who fancied that the war was simply between Slaveholders (of the type caricatured in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) and Abolitionists, generally favoured the North. In May 1861 when the British Government recognized the Confederates as belligerents, and in November when the Yankees boarded a British vessel and seized two Confederate agents, Mason and Slidell, and threatened to invade Canada, it seemed more than probable that war would take place, and this probability was revived in the summer of 1862 when the *Alabama* was allowed to leave the Mersey and commence preying on Yankee commerce as a Confederate cruiser. Towards the end of 1862, however, both parties unconsciously testified to the impartiality of Great Britain by complaining that Great Britain was partial to the other side; and during the rest of the war she remained strictly neutral. In April 1865 the Confederates were defeated, and in October Palmerston died. Those two events mark a real epoch in the history of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XXX.

DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE, 1865-1868.

A PERSONAL HISTORY OF VICTORIA } See Chapter XXVIII.
B CONTEMPORARY RULERS }

C TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

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| <p>(i) International relations with—</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) France §§ 547, 554 (2) Italy § 543 (3) Austria §§ 543, 555 (4) Prussia §§ 543, 547 (5) Russia §§ 554, 555 (6) Afghanistan §§ 554, 555 (7) South African Republic §§ 556, 557 (8) Egypt §§ 548, 551, 558 (9) United States § 547 | <p>(ii) Constitutional.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Ministers §§ 543, 544, 547, 552, 557, 560 (2) Parliament §§ 543, 544, 549, 560 (3) Domestic Reform §§ 546, 550, 551, 553, 560 (4) Ireland §§ 546, 549, 553, 559 (5) Confederation §§ 545, 548, 550 (6) India §§ 554, 557 (7) South Africa §§ 548, 556, 557. (8) Canada §§ 545, 548 (9) Australia § 548 |
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I. THE LEAP IN THE DARK, 1865-1868.

§ 543. **Russell's Second Ministry, October 1865-June 1866**—Earl Russell—as Lord John was now called—succeeded to the nominal headship of Palmerston's Cabinet, but the man who more and more took the real leadership of the Liberals was Gladstone. "There will be strange doings when I am gone," Palmerston had once said in reference to Gladstone's capacity for rapid and whole-hearted conversion to new ideas. Gladstone took up with ardour the idea of extending the franchise which had been coldly regarded by Russell and Palmerston, and his new point of view was expressed in his famous question about the unenfranchised classes—"are they not our own flesh and blood?" Early in 1866 he introduced a *Reform Bill* which seemed to Bright and the extreme Radicals too conservative, and to Lowe and a small group of Liberals whom Bright dubbed Adullamites to go too far in the direction of democracy. He proposed to confer the county and borough franchise on those who paid £14 and £10 in rent respectively, but in committee an amendment was carried substituting a rateable for a rental qualification. The Russell Ministry at once resigned, despite the

Queen's protest against the absurdity of making so much of "a mere matter of detail." The time of Russell's resignation was marked by the outbreak of the Seven Weeks' War between Prussia and Austria, which ended with the expulsion of the latter from Germany and also from Italy.

§ 544 **Derby's Third Ministry, June 1867-February 1868.**—Derby and Disraeli took office in the teeth of a hostile parliamentary majority; but this time their term of office was longer, and they left two enduring marks on British institutions. One of these was mainly due to Disraeli, the leader of the House of Commons, the other to Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary. Disraeli had long been trying to "educate his party" on the lines laid down in the political novels of his early years; and he believed that some further measure of parliamentary reform was necessary, not only for its own sake, but also to "dish the Whigs." His *Reform Bill* underwent many transformations during its six months passage through Parliament in the summer of 1867. The general effect of the *Second Reform Act*, which was accompanied by Bills effecting a slight distribution of seats and dealing with the franchise in Scotland and Ireland, was to extend the franchise in the towns to all adult male householders, and to lodgers paying £10 a year rent and residing in the same rooms for a clear year, and in the counties to £12 occupiers. It was estimated that these changes enlarged the electorate from about 1,350,000 to about 2,245,000; and that the new voters, mainly of the artisan class, were largely illiterate and quite unversed in politics. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Bill, especially coming from a Ministry that called itself "Conservative," should excite vehement opposition. Cranborne and Carnarvon threw up their offices to show their disapproval of a measure which the Prime Minister himself described as a "leap in the dark", the Adullamites agreed with them, thinking that the people should be educated before they were entrusted with votes; while Bright and the Radicals, on the other hand, managed to strip the Bill of the 'fancy franchises,' and other devices which Disraeli had endeavoured to impose on the democracy.

§ 545. **British North America Act, 1867**—About this time, also a notable new experiment was essayed in British Colonial government. Constitutional difficulties in Canada proper, and a general desire for greater union in view of the possibilities of invasion from the United States led to proposals for Federation which were authorized by Lord Carnarvon's *British North America Act* in March

1867. This Act erected certain British Colonies in North America into a "Dominion of Canada," in which each province should have local self-government, but should transact certain common business in a "Dominion Parliament" meeting at Ottawa. The nucleus of the federation was provided by Upper and Lower Canada—now again separated and named Ontario and Quebec respectively—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and this Dominion was later joined by Manitoba in 1870, British Columbia (with Vancouver Island) in 1871, and Prince Edward Island in 1873. The creation and successful working of the Dominion of Canada—which may be regarded as consummated by the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1886—has done much to promote the idea of Imperial Federation.

§ 546. **Disraeli's First Ministry, February–November 1868.**—Early in 1868 Lord Derby resigned the premiership through ill health and was succeeded by Disraeli. His short ministry was marked by the successful conclusion of an expedition led by Sir Robert Napier to release certain Europeans imprisoned at Magdala by Theodore, King of Abyssinia (September 1867–April 1868), by the passing of an Act authorizing the State to purchase British telegraphs, by the transfer of the decision of disputed elections from the House of Commons to the Judges, and by a keen parliamentary contest with Gladstone about Irish Questions. During the sixties there had been a recrudescence of discontent in Ireland, carefully fostered by the American Irish society of Fenians. In consequence, both the Russell and the Derby Ministries had suspended the operation of the *Habeas Corpus Act* in Ireland; and in 1867 the Fenians had retaliated by various abortive risings in Ireland, by a futile attempt to capture Chester (February), and by an attack on Clerkenwell Prison (December). Gladstone ascribed these outrages to the existence of real grievances in Ireland, partly ecclesiastical, partly agrarian, and in April 1868 he carried a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland. Disraeli appealed to the country in November, but finding from the returns that he was hopelessly in the minority (265 to 393), he resigned without waiting for the assembling of Parliament.

II. GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY, 1868-1874.

§ 547. **Foreign Affairs, 1868-1874.**—The Queen sent for Gladstone, who formed a Cabinet in which nearly all the leading names are familiar to the present generation. Lowe was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Bright was President of the Board of Trade; and

places were found for Granville, the Earl of Kimberley, the Marquess of Hartington (afterwards Duke of Devonshire), and G. J. Goschen ; but the men who, after Gladstone himself, did the most to make the Ministry memorable were Cardwell, the Secretary of State for War, and W. E. Forster, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. This Ministry plunged into domestic legislation—characterized at the time as “reform by leaps and bounds”—and paid but little attention to affairs outside the British Isles. In foreign affairs the most notable event was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, which resulted in the overthrow of Napoleon III. and the establishment of the Third Republic in France, in the formation of a German Empire under the King of Prussia, and in the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. Bismarck kept Great Britain neutral by divulging a scheme of Napoleon’s for the absorption of Belgium, and he kept Russia neutral by prompting her to denounce the Black Sea clauses of the *Treaty of Paris*—which were formally rescinded in 1871. In the same year Great Britain entered into a *Treaty of Washington* with the United States, whereby the claims of the latter Power to compensation for the damages inflicted by the *Alabama* were submitted to international arbitration ; and in the following year the Geneva tribunal gave an award of £3,000,000, which was promptly paid. A widespread impression that Great Britain had been overreached both by Bismarck and by the Americans was a prime cause of the fall of the Gladstone Ministry.

§ 548 Colonial Affairs, 1868–1874.—In colonial affairs the period of the Gladstone Ministry was marked chiefly by the development of common action among the various groups of colonies. The principle of federation was not only further extended by accessions to the Dominion of Canada during these years (§ 545), but also applied to the Leeward Islands in 1871 ; and in the same year the Australian Colonies and Tasmania joined in a protest against Kimberley’s attempt to interfere with their mutual customs arrangements. In 1871 also Griqualand West, which had recently become valuable through the discovery of diamonds, was acquired from the Griqua chief, Waterboer, and the Orange Free State was compensated for abandoning its claims by receiving £90,000. In 1872 Cape Colony received responsible government by Order in Council, and further north the Dutch stations on the Gold Coast were acquired by the British Government. This transfer on the West Coast led to a war with the natives of Ashanti which was brought to a successful issue by Sir Garnet Wolseley in February 1874. Two other African

events of the period were destined to have a far-reaching importance: in 1869 Sir Samuel Baker, an Englishman, was sent by the Khedive to govern the Equatorial Provinces which have since become British territory, and Ferdinand Lesseps, a Frenchman, completed the Suez Canal, which at once revolutionized the conditions of trade between Europe and the East.

§ 549. **Irish Remedial Legislation, 1869-1870.**—The immediate interest of the Gladstone Ministry, however, lay with domestic legislation; and here Ireland had first place. Gladstone began in 1869 with a Bill to disestablish and disendow the Irish Church, which was passed without much difficulty. Practically the Protestant Episcopal Church was liberated from its subordination to the State at the price of surrendering a great part of its endowments, which were to be used for education and other social work, the Church retained its cathedrals and other ancient church buildings and was organized as a self-governing body, and the four Irish bishops ceased to sit in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. At the same time Gladstone discontinued the *regnum donum* paid by the State to the Irish Presbyterian Church since William III's day and the State grant begun by Peel in 1845 to the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth. Thus the various churches in Ireland were left "free," unhelped and unhindered by State favour or State control, and there seems little doubt that these changes have worked for good. Gladstone's agrarian legislation was less successful. Russell's *Encumbered Estates Act* of 1849 had caused the transfer of many estates in Ireland to landowners who were bent on making their investment remunerative, the peasantry in their eagerness to retain their lands, often promised rents which they could not pay; and the result was an immense increase in the number of evictions. Gladstone's *Irish Land Act* of 1870 gave to tenants a right to be compensated for unexhausted improvements when they gave up their tenancy (except in the case when they were ejected for non-payment of rent); and also, at Bright's suggestion, it arranged that the State should advance money to tenants to buy their holdings, when their landlords were willing to sell. The Act was disliked on principle by many Englishmen as an interference with "freedom of contract", and it soon became even more disliked in practice by Irish peasants when they found that the Act provided no effectual remedy against rack-renting.

§ 550. **English Legislation, 1870-1873.**—Special legislation for England accompanied and followed these Irish measures.

Forster's Elementary Education Act, which was going through Parliament in 1870, cheek by jowl with the *Irish Land Act*, was a long step towards furnishing England with a system which should deserve to be called "national" and "educational." This measure provided machinery for the establishment of elective school-boards in districts where adequate primary education was not provided by voluntary effort, and armed these school-boards with powers to levy rates for the erection and upkeep of schools, and to compel parents to send their children to school. The "religious difficulty" was surmounted by a "Cowper-Temple clause" which enacted that no "catechism or distinctive dogmatic formularies" should be taught in the board schools, and that no child should be in any way compelled to attend denominational instruction in the voluntary schools. Something had already been done for secondary schools by the establishment of an "Endowed Schools Commission" in 1869, and in 1871 the older English universities of Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to all kinds of Nonconformists by the parliamentary abolition of religious tests. In 1872 a *Ballot Act* substituted secret voting by ballot for the old system of open voting, in the hope that thereby bribery, intimidation, and violence might prove less conspicuous features of elections of all kinds, parliamentary and municipal. Finally in 1873 the *Supreme Court of Judicature Act* partly amalgamated the three "Common Law" courts (Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer) and the Court of Chancery into four divisions of one High Court of Justice. This Act was completed in 1876 by an Act rearranging the Courts of Appeal, and together these Acts have done much for the simplification, cheapening, and quickening of judicial proceedings.

§ 551. *British Legislation, 1870-1871*—Meanwhile measures were being carried which effected equally great changes for the British Isles as a whole. Trades Unions were legalized by an Act of 1871, and the military system of Great Britain was transformed by Cardwell. In 1870 the War Office was reorganized in three departments, which have since been reduced to two; and in 1871 the control of the subsidiary forces—militia, yeomanry, and volunteers—was transferred to the Secretary of State for War. But more important and more successful were the steps taken to make the army more efficient as a fighting instrument. Cardwell's *Army Enlistment Act*, 1870, introduced the "short-service system," whereby men were to be enlisted not for twelve or twenty years as heretofore, but for six (afterwards seven) years, and, after spending

this period with the colours, were to be passed to the reserve—i. e. were to be free to resume civil occupation, but to be liable to be called out if necessary. A Royal Proclamation put an end to the system whereby officers purchased their commissions.

§ 552. **Fall of the Gladstone Ministry, 1874**—In the course of three or four years Gladstone had annoyed Protestant Nonconformists by his compromise on the question of religious education, Anglicans by his disestablishment of the Irish Church, landlords by his land legislation, the gentry generally by his army legislation, and the general public by his foreign policy. His parliamentary majority had therefore diminished gradually, and in March 1873 he was defeated on the *Irish University Education Bill*—a measure intended to set up an Irish University which should attract Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. Gladstone at once resigned but, as Disraeli declined to take office again without a parliamentary majority, he resumed office. Early in the following year, however, he dissolved Parliament in order to take the sense of the country on his extensive reforms and he promised that, if he were continued in office, he would abolish the income-tax. The elections resulted in a Conservative majority, and Gladstone at once resigned.

III DISRAELI'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1874-1880.

§ 553. **Disraeli's Home Policy.**—The Ministry which Disraeli formed—with Lords Derby, Carnarvon, and Salisbury at the Foreign, Colonial, and India Offices respectively—was naturally influenced by the results of its predecessor's policy. It was marked by great quietude in domestic politics, and by much stir in foreign politics. In 1873 the "Home Rule League" (formerly known as the Home Government Association) was formed to secure what O'Connell had called "the repeal of the Union"; and this League, at first under Isaac Butt, later under Charles Stewart Parnell, obtained almost complete control of Irish parliamentary representation, and did its best to compel attention to Irish grievances by "obstructing" all other business at Westminster. In 1879 Michael Davitt formed an "Irish Land League," with the objects of obtaining reductions in rent, and ultimately getting rid of landlords altogether.

§ 554. **Egypt and India, 1874-1880.**—The most prominent events in Disraeli's Second Ministry were connected with the East, and with South Africa; and of these two spheres of action the former especially attracted the "Oriental imagination" of the Prime Minister himself. In 1875 Disraeli purchased the Khedive's shares

in the Suez Canal, thus obtaining not only a remunerative investment but also an effective control over the direct route to the Far East. In 1879, Great Britain and France, acting principally as shareholders in the Suez Canal Company, intervened jointly in the affairs of Egypt, deposed the extravagant Khedive, Ismail, in favour of his son Tewfik, and established a system of Dual Control which led to further intervention a few years later. In all these Egyptian dealings—as in 1798 and 1840—Great Britain was mainly interested in Egypt as being on the road to India. Disraeli also showed his interest in that country in two other ways. In 1876 he passed an *Additional Titles Bill*, in virtue of which Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in a great durbar held at Delhi on New Year's Day, 1877. A little later he embarked on the search for a "scientific frontier" on the North-West of India; and this search brought about two Afghan Wars. In the Second Afghan War (November 1878–May 1879) Great Britain deposed Shīr Ali for receiving a Russian envoy, and established Yakūb Khān as Amīr on terms laid down on the *Treaty of Gandamak*, whereby the Amīr ceded the Kurram, Pishin and Sibi Valleys, and promised to receive a British Resident at Kābul. The Third Afghan War arose out of the murder of the British Resident Sir Louis Cavagnari, in September 1879. General Roberts occupied Kābul in December 1879, and thence made a march to Kandahar which resulted in the establishment of Abdur-Rahman Khān as Amīr. Before that time a change of government had taken place at home, which involved a temporary abandonment of the "forward policy" on the North-West frontier.

§ 555. **Russia and Turkey, 1875–1878**—Meanwhile suspicion of Russian designs, which was the prime cause of these Afghan Wars, had brought Great Britain to the verge of war with Russia in the Near East. The "atrocities" committed by the Turks in repressing Christian risings in Herzegovina and Bulgaria (1875–1876) led in April 1877 to the outbreak of a Russo-Turkish War, which ended in the *Treaty of San Stefano*, March 1878. Early in 1878 Disraeli sent a British fleet to protect Constantinople from the Russian invaders; and in order to compel Russia to submit the *Treaty of San Stefano* to a European Congress, he later called out the reserves of the British Army, and brought Indian troops to Malta. Before the Congress met in Berlin in June, the British Government came to terms with Russia and Turkey: the "Greater Bulgaria" arranged in the San Stefano Treaty (including Roumelia and reaching to the Aegean Sea) was to be divided into two, and

Turkey was to hand over Cyprus to Great Britain in return for an annual tribute and a permanent guarantee of the integrity of Turkish dominions in Asia. The *Treaty of Berlin* embodied these arrangements, and also erected Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro into independent states, while it gave Kars, Batoum, and Bessarabia to Russia, and handed over to Austria-Hungary the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The British representatives, Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, returned from the Congress declaring that they had brought back "Peace with Honour."

§ 556. **The Zulus and the Boers, 1875-1880**—British intervention in the Russo-Turkish War is almost the only piece of work done by the Disraeli Ministry which can be judged as a whole. In Afghanistan and South Africa its work was still incomplete when it had to give place to another Ministry which had quite other views. In South Africa the difficulties of the time arose mainly out of the disturbed relations between the Transvaal Boers and various tribes on their borders. The dangers to the white population in South Africa were so generally felt that in 1875 Lord Carnarvon ventured to broach a scheme of general confederation; and in 1877 he sent Theophilus Shepstone to annex the Transvaal. Sir Henry Bartle Frere, who was Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa from 1878 to 1881, determined to break the Zulu power. In 1879 Wolseley crushed Sekukuni in the Lydenburg district of the Transvaal, and Lord Chelmsford overthrew Cetuywayo, in the district known as Zululand, north of Natal and south-east of the Transvaal. The latter campaign was at first unsuccessful: in January a British contingent was overwhelmed at Isandhlwana, and another narrowly escaped the same fate at Rorke's Drift on the Tugela River, in June the Prince Imperial, son and heir of Napoleon III., was slain while fighting for Great Britain as a volunteer; but in July Chelmsford stormed Ulundi, the Zulu capital, and took the King prisoner. The native peril being thus overpast, the Transvaal Boers expected either independence or at least the self-government promised to them; but a change of Ministry at home distracted attention from them at a critical moment.

IV. GLADSTONE'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1880-1885.

§ 557. **Afghanistan and the Transvaal, 1880-1881.**—This change of Ministry followed a General Election, held in the spring of 1880, in which the Liberals obtained a large majority. Apparently the Electorate had been as much "harassed" by Beacons-

field's foreign activity as by Gladstone's domestic reforms; but it is possible also that a long depression in trade was made to count against the Ministry, and that Gladstone's denunciatory speeches in his "Midlothian Campaign" had helped to turn the scale. The Liberal victory at the polls was at once followed by the resignation of Lord Beaconsfield (who died in April 1881) and by the formation of a Ministry in which Gladstone's principal colleagues were Bright, Forster, Granville, Kimberley, Sir William Harcourt, and Joseph Chamberlain. Gladstone had spoken so strongly against Disraeli's policy that he was almost as much bound in conscience as in inclination to undo his acts wherever possible. He sent the Marquess of Ripon to India to reverse Lord Lytton's "forward policy" and to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the natives, which made him by far the most popular of all Indian Viceroys among them. In South Africa, also, for reasons which have been variously given, Gladstone reversed the "forward policy" of his predecessor. In December 1880 the Transvaal Boers proclaimed an independent republic under Paul Kruger, and defeated a British force under Sir George Colley at Lang's Nek and Majuba Hill (27 February 1881). In the following month Gladstone made peace with the Boers, recognizing the independence of the Transvaal State and the suzerainty of the Queen. Naturally enough the Boers ascribed this concession to their own valour and to the weakness of their adversaries; and this impression was confirmed in 1884 when the *Pretoria Convention* of March 1881 was replaced by a *London Convention* in which no mention was made of the Queen's "suzerainty" over what was now again formally styled "the South African Republic."

§ 558. **Egypt and the Soudan, 1881-1885.**—One explanation of Gladstone's policy in Afghanistan and the Transvaal is that he desired his Ministry to be a time of "peace, retrenchment, and reform." But hardly was the Transvaal trouble over for the present when disturbances broke out in Egypt which filled the rest of Gladstone's Ministry with a series of "little wars." In September 1881 Arabi Pasha, an officer in the Egyptian army, put himself at the head of a movement against the Dual Control, and raised the cry "Egypt for the Egyptians." As France refused to join in the work of restoring order, Great Britain undertook the task by herself. In July 1882 Admiral Seymour bombarded and occupied Alexandria; and in September Wolseley, who had advanced from the Suez Canal, defeated the Egyptian army at Tel-el-Kebir, and seized Cairo. Early in 1883 Granville issued a circular to the Powers announcing that

Great Britain had undertaken the duty of acting as adviser to the Khedive, but would withdraw her troops as soon as possible. But meanwhile a new danger had arisen in the Sudan. Muhammad Ahmad had proclaimed himself the Mahdi promised by the prophet Muhammad, who was to sweep away the rule of unbelievers and make the faithful masters of the earth. In November 1883 he destroyed a weak Egyptian army under Hicks Pasha, an Englishman, and thus won a general acceptance of his claims. In January 1884 the British Government sent Charles Gordon, who had governed the Egyptian territories on the Upper Nile with extraordinary success for five years (1874-1879), to withdraw Egyptian troops from the Sudan, but Gordon was shut up in Khartoum by the Mahdists, and the British Government was compelled, much against its will, to rescue him. After much hesitation between the Suakim and the Nile routes, the latter was chosen by Wolseley, now a peer. The advance column of the relief expedition defeated the Mahdists at Abu Klea (January 17, 1885) and came within sight of Khartoum two days after its fall and Gordon's death (January 26, 1885). Four days previously the Mahdi had died and had been succeeded by the Khalfah Abdallah. As Gladstone had no desire to avenge Gordon's death, or to rescue the Sudan from anarchy, British and Egyptian troops were withdrawn, and the southern boundary of Egypt was fixed at Wady Halfa.

§ 559. **Irish Affairs, 1880-1885** — Irish questions proved even more perplexing to the Gladstone Ministry than those which beset them concerning the Nile Valley. "Boycotting," murder of landlords, and mutilation of cattle became so common in 1880, under the auspices of the Land League, that various Coercion Bills were passed early in 1881. But the Ministry wished to provide remedies for agrarian grievances as well as repression for agrarian outrages; and in April it passed a *Land Act*, creating a court empowered to fix rents for fifteen years. This Act satisfied no one, least of all the leaders of the "Home Rule" League and of the Land League; and when several of these, including Parnell, were imprisoned in October they issued from Kilmainham Jail a manifesto forbidding the payment of rent. Gladstone retaliated by proclaiming the Land League "an illegal and criminal association"; but in April 1882 he came to terms with Parnell in order to secure the parliamentary support of his followers. This agreement, known as the *Kilmainham Treaty*, led to the retirement of the Ministers directly responsible for Irish affairs, Earl Cowper, the Viceroy, and Forster, the Chief

Secretary for Ireland. In the following month Forster's successor, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and one of his permanent staff were murdered in Phoenix Park, near Dublin, by some members of a Club which called itself the "Invincibles"; and this fresh outrage was met by fresh measures of coercion. The Home Rule leaders repudiated responsibility for the murders but continued to resist the attempt to govern Ireland by exceptional means. During the rest of the Gladstone Ministry, Ireland was kept comparatively quiet under the rule of Earl Spencer and his Chief Secretary Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Trevelyan.

§ 560. **Third Reform Acts, 1884-1885.**—The Liberal Government had come into office in 1880 with a strong parliamentary majority, but its measures in South Africa, Egypt, and Ireland had not struck the average onlooker as either strong or wise or successful. Nor had it effected very much in its chosen sphere of domestic legislation. A *Burials Act*, giving Nonconformists the right to be buried in Anglican churchyards, a *Bankruptcy Act*, a *Married Women's Property Act*, and an *Employers' Liability Act* were almost the only notable measures; and these, being all of a highly technical nature, did not win for their authors a popularity proportionate to their usefulness. Bye-elections pointed to the probability that the next general election would go against the Government unless it could do something to win the favour of the electorate. For these and other reasons Gladstone, in January 1884, introduced a *Franchise Bill*, which assimilated the county and borough franchise, or in other words conferred a vote on the agricultural labourer. The Lords declined to pass this Bill unless accompanied by a Bill for the Redistribution of Seats, and in November such a Bill was arranged jointly by the Government and the leaders of the Opposition. This Bill cut up the historic constituencies into single-member districts, something after the fashion advocated by the Chartists, and gave twelve additional members to Scotland (bringing the total membership of the House of Commons up to 670). The *Franchise Act* was passed in December 1884 and the *Redistribution Act* in the following June. In the same month the Government was defeated on its Budget proposals by the combination of the Irish Home Rulers, disgusted with the continuance of coercion in Ireland, and the Conservatives. Gladstone thereupon resigned and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury; and this change of Ministry practically coincided with a complete transformation in the constitutional and international politics of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXXI

DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE, 1885-1901.

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| A. PERSONAL HISTORY OF VICTORIA
B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS | } See Chapter XXVIII. |
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C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

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| (i) International: relations with—
(1) France §§ 567, 568, 569
(2) Germany §§ 567, 568, 569
(3) Portugal §§ 567, 570
(4) Russia § 573
(5) China §§ 566, 573
(6) Japan §§ 566, 573, 574
(7) United States § 567. | (ii) Constitutional.
(1) Ministers §§ 561-566.
(2) England §§ 561, 563, 564.
(3) Ireland §§ 561-564
(4) India §§ 561, 573
(5) Africa §§ 561, 563, 564, 566-572
(6) Australia. §§ 561, 575. |
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I MINISTERIAL HISTORY, 1885-1901.

§ 561. **First Salisbury Ministry, June 1885-January 1886.**—On Gladstone's resignation Lord Salisbury formed a Conservative Ministry, including Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, W. H. Smith, and Lord Randolph Churchill. Like so many other Conservative ministries during the century, it was merely a stop-gap affair, lacking a parliamentary majority. Its seven-months' career was mainly notable for the passing of Acts authorizing the formation of a Federal Council for Australia (§ 575), and encouraging peasant proprietorship in Ireland (*Lord Ashbourne's Act*), for a Third Burmese War, which resulted in the annexation of the remainder of King Theebaw's dominions, for the proclamation of a British protectorate over Bechuanaland and Pondoland (§ 570); and above all, for the discovery of rich goldfields in the Transvaal, and for the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. A General Election held towards the close of the year returned a House of Commons in which the Liberals had exactly half the total number of seats (335), while the Irish Home Rulers had 86 seats. The Home Rulers could turn the balance, and they chose to turn it against Lord Salisbury, who had threatened to suppress the Irish National League, by voting in favour of an amendment to the Address regretting the absence of labourers' allotments from the Queen's Speech.

§ 562. Gladstone's Third Ministry, February–August 1886.—Gladstone then formed his third ministry, in which the most notable new men were Lord Rosebery, Foreign Secretary, and John Morley, Chief Secretary for Ireland. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that both the main parties in the British Parliament should bid for the support of the Home Rulers. Gladstone had allowed himself to be tossed to and fro in his former period of power, but he now decided to take a definite and irrefragable line of Irish policy. He introduced a *Home Rule Bill*, abolishing the representation of Ireland at Westminster, and establishing at Dublin a separate Parliament for the exclusive regulation of Irish affairs, and also a *Land Purchase Bill* lending to the new Irish Government £50,000,000 for buying out landlords under *Lord Ashbourne's Act*. Suspicions as to Gladstone's intentions towards Ireland had already excluded Lord Hartington and G. J. Goschen from his third Ministry: the realization of these suspicions at once led to the resignation of Joseph Chamberlain and George Trevelyan. The malcontents, who called themselves Liberal Unionists, numbered 93 members of the House of Commons, and their action caused the *Home Rule Bill* to be rejected on its second reading by 343 to 313 (June 7, 1886). A General Election followed in which Gladstone was beaten: the Gladstonian Liberals numbered only 191 against 317 Conservatives, the Liberal Unionists being 74 and the Irish Home Rulers 84.

§ 563. Second Salisbury Ministry, August 1886–August 1892.—Lord Salisbury formed a Ministry consisting exclusively of Conservatives, but supported by the Liberal Unionists. Lord Randolph Churchill was Chancellor of the Exchequer for some months, and shortly after his withdrawal Lord Salisbury took over the charge of Foreign Affairs, and his nephew, Arthur James Balfour, became Chief Secretary for Ireland. The Ministry, thus modified, lasted about six years. It was marked by the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887 with great enthusiasm throughout the Empire, by a considerable number of domestic reforms, of which the *Allotments Act*, 1887, Mr. Ritchie's *Local Government Act*, 1888, and the *Free Education Act*, 1891, were the most conspicuous; by many measures intended both to repress and to remedy Irish discontent; by a judicial inquiry into the connection between "Parnellism and Crime"; by a subsequent split in the ranks of the Irish Home Rulers; by the partition of most of Africa among various European States (§§ 567–569); and by the rise of Cecil Rhodes to commercial and political influence in South Africa. The General Election held

in the summer of 1892 resulted in the return of a majority of Liberals and Irish Home Rulers, and consequently in the defeat and resignation of Lord Salisbury.

§ 564. Gladstone's Fourth Ministry, August 1892-March 1894.—Gladstone took office for the last time with Harcourt, Rosebery, and John Morley in their old offices, and with Henry Asquith and Henry Campbell-Bannerman as Home and War Secretaries respectively. During the eighteen months which elapsed before ill-health compelled Gladstone to retire various large measures were introduced into Parliament. The only one of these which became law was Henry Fowler's *Parish Councils Act*, 1894, extending to rural parishes and districts, a system of elective self-government similar to that which had already been established in boroughs and counties. Of the unsuccessful measures the most important were a *Home Rule Bill*, which was forced through the House of Commons, but which was thrown out in the Lords by an enormous majority (419 to 41), a *Welsh and Scottish Church Suspensory Bill*, intended to sever the connection between the State and the established churches in Wales and Scotland, and a *Liquor Traffic Bill* designed to make the number of public houses in any district dependent on "local option," that is on the wishes of the local ratepayers. The most notable events outside the British Isles were connected with the extension of British responsibilities in various parts of Africa (§§ 568-570).

§ 565 Lord Rosebery's Ministry, March 1894-June 1895.—On Gladstone's retirement in March 1894 (he died four years later), the Queen invited Lord Rosebery to take his place. Lord Rosebery accepted the post, handing over the charge of Foreign Affairs to the Earl of Kimberley, and all his former colleagues continued in office under him. The Ministry had only a small and uncertain majority in the House of Commons, and it was further weakened by internal dissensions—Lord Rosebery favouring, and Sir William Harcourt discouraging, an "Imperialist" policy. Almost its only notable achievements were the proclamation of a British protectorate over Uganda and the passing of Harcourt's Budget, which introduced a graduated scheme of death duties on a much larger scale than before. In June 1895 a snap division on the War Office Vote placed the Government in a minority; and Lord Rosebery seized the opportunity to resign.

§ 566. Third Salisbury Ministry, June 1895-July 1902.—Lord Salisbury then entered upon his third ministry, which lasted longer than any administration since that of Lord Liverpool at the

beginning of the nineteenth century, and which was ended by his retirement through ill-health. He himself took charge of Foreign Affairs until the General Election of 1800, when he handed them over to the Marquess of Lansdowne. His colleagues, chosen from both sections of the Unionist party, included such Conservatives as A. J. Balfour and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer respectively, and such Liberal Unionists as Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, and G. J. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty. A General Election held in the summer of 1895 gave the new Government a strong majority; and this was very little diminished at a new election held in the summer of 1900. This Ministry, which witnessed the celebration of the Great Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897, and the accession of her eldest son in January 1901, was almost entirely absorbed in foreign and colonial affairs. The weakness of China revealed in her defeat by Japan in the war of 1894-1895, gave to various European Powers opportunities for aggrandisement which inevitably interested the Government of the state having the largest trade with that country. In 1896 Great Britain was pressed by the necessities of her position in Egypt and Uganda to undertake the reconquest of the Sudan; and further south, political and economic jealousies between the Boer farmers and the foreign miners in the Transvaal issued in the Great Boer War of 1899-1902 and the acquiescence of the Boers in the reinclusion of their territories within the British Empire.

II. THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA, 1885-1902.

§ 567. **Africa at the Time of the Berlin Conference, 1884-1885.**—During the past twenty years or so the most striking general feature of world-history has been the "expansion of Europe"—that is to say, the sudden increase of interest on the part of European States in the non-European parts of the earth. Australasia had become definitely British during the first half of the nineteenth century, when the maritime supremacy of Great Britain was practically unchallenged. America, according to the "Monroe Doctrine" (which brought Great Britain and the United States to the verge of war in 1895 over the disputed boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela), had ceased to be a safe field for European aggrandisement. Hence this "expansion of Europe" has been practically limited to parts of Asia and Africa and to the Pacific. Of these fields of action Africa was the largest, and in 1884 the "scramble for Africa" had become so far developed that an international con-

ference was called to lay down the rules of the game. At that time France was securely planted in Algeria and Tunis, in the North, and Great Britain was definitely established in South and West Africa and informally in Egypt, while Portugal had settlements (dating from the fifteenth century) scattered along the East and West coasts, and Germany had just effected a footing in Damaraland and Namaqualand. The Berlin Conference (November 1884-February 1885) decided in favour of freedom of navigation on the Congo and the Niger (later applied also to the Zambesi) and in favour of the suppression of slavery in the basin of the Congo. This river had been fully revealed to Europe by H. M. Stanley less than ten years previously (in 1877), and its huge basin had been occupied by an "International Association" which had been financed by the King of the Belgians. African developments since the Berlin Conference fall into three well-defined geographical groups.

§ 568 **North-East Africa, 1885-1902**—Germany tried to supplant Portugal, not only at the south end of her west coast claims (in Damaraland), but at the north end of her east coast claims; and this latter activity aroused the alarm of British missionary interests in Uganda, and British commercial interests in Zanzibar. Accordingly in 1888 William Mackinnon, the chairman of the principal steamship company trading to East Africa, obtained a charter for an "Imperial British East Africa Company" to administer the coast strip claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and in 1890 an *Anglo-German Agreement* delimited the "spheres of interest" of the high contracting Powers in that region. Great Britain secured the protectorate of Zanzibar and Uganda (with Unyoro) in return for ceding Heligoland to Germany; and the East Africa Company was persuaded to undertake the administration of Uganda. It was partly because Great Britain had acquired control, not only of the mouth, but also of the sources of the Nile that the reconquest of the intermediate region was undertaken. Lord Cromer (Sir Evelyn Baring), who had for many years been adviser to the Khedive, recommended this enterprise, and had restored Egyptian finances to a condition to bear the strain; and meanwhile Sir Herbert Kitchener, the Sirdar of the Egyptian army, had put his troops into condition to face the Dervishes, as the fanatical followers of the Kalifa were called. In 1896 the Egyptian frontier was advanced southwards to Dongola; and in 1898 the Dervishes were decisively defeated at the Atbara and at Omdurman. In 1899 an *Anglo-French Agreement* delimited the "spheres of influence" of the two Powers in North-East Africa.

§ 569. **West Africa, 1885-1902.**—In West as in East Africa Great Britain came into contact, and sometimes almost to conflict, with both France and Germany. In West Africa, Great Britain had various territories, some old, some new, such as Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Lagos, and also trading interests on the Oil Rivers, i. e. the region round the Niger delta. In 1879 George Taubman Goldie organized British traders in this last-named district into a "United (afterwards National) African Company," which bought out competitors of other nations, and in 1886 received a charter, of the old East India Company pattern, as the "Royal Niger Company." Meanwhile in 1884 Great Britain had assumed a protectorate over the Niger Coast, and this had been formally recognized by the Berlin Conference. This Company had some difficulties with native chiefs in Benin and elsewhere, and also with the German claims in Togoland and the Kameruns, but its most serious difficulties arose from the desire of French officers to create a continuous colonial empire stretching southwards from Algeria to the Guinea coast, and behind Lake Tchad to the French Congo Territory. These difficulties were settled by the *Anglo-French Agreements* of 1890 and 1898. In 1901 the British Government relieved the Niger Company of its administrative duties and took over the government of all Nigeria. Mr Chamberlain has also used his long tenure of office as Colonial Secretary to "develope the neglected estates" of Great Britain along the Guinea Coast by building harbours and railways.

§ 570. **South Africa, 1885-1893** —In 1884 the British Government had abandoned, or seemed to abandon, all claims to suzerainty over the South African Republic (except a power to disallow its treaties with foreign Powers), and the German Government annexed Damaraland and Namaqualand. Thus there arose a possibility of an alliance between Germany and President Kruger which would have effectually stopped the extension of British South Africa northwards. It is true, that in 1884 the Transvaal was practically bankrupt, and that its boundaries were fixed by the *London Convention* of that year; but on the other hand gold was found in great quantities within the Transvaal in 1885, and new Boer Republics were being founded outside the treaty-limits of the Transvaal. The latter danger was overcome by the expedition of Sir Charles Warren in 1885, which put an end to the Republics of Stellaland and Goshen on the western frontier of the Transvaal, and annexed the whole region of Bechuanaland to the British Empire. On the other hand an eastward extension of the Transvaal into Zululand was recognized as the

"New Republic" in 1886, but this was not allowed to reach the sea; and Boer extension northwards was practically prevented by the establishment in 1889 of the "British South Africa Company," which had acquired exclusive rights of mining from Lobengula, King of the Matabele. The British South Africa Company was the creation and the instrument of Cecil Rhodes, who thus spent on "empire-building" the wealth he had won from the diamond mines in Kimberley. The operations of the Company involved it in difficulties with Portugal—ended by the *Anglo-Portuguese Agreement* of 1891—and with Lobengula, culminating in the First Matabele War of 1893. The Company also obtained for a time control over a vast region north of the Zambesi, extending to the south-east of Lake Tanganyika; and all this territory became known as Rhodesia. The Company has built railways connecting Buluwayo with both the Cape system and the Portuguese port of Beira.

§ 571. *The Boer Republics, 1895-1899.*—British authority had thus been asserted in divers ways over a vast territory in Austral Africa, extending from Cape Town to Lake Tanganyika—roughly speaking, over the lands explored by the Scots missionary, David Livingstone. But the future of this territory was still rendered uncertain by the presence of two Boer Republics in a large enclave intercepted between British and Portuguese territories, and by the neighbourhood of German territories in East and West. Three different schemes for the future were projected by three powerful personalities—Cecil Rhodes, Jan Hofmeyr and Paul Kruger. Rhodes, who added to his other labours those of Prime Minister of Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896, seems to have worked towards a self-governing federation of all British and Boer territories under the British flag; Hofmeyr, a Cape Dutchman, who directed an Afrikaner League (chiefly Dutch) and whose support was necessary to Rhodes, seems to have had similar plans except that the Dutch, rather than the British, element was to predominate; and Kruger, an old man who had taken part in the Great Trek, and was marked by a passionate hatred of everything British, seems to have made up his mind that a wholly independent Dutch South Africa had been made possible by the mineral wealth of the Transvaal. Though defeated in his scheme for the extension of the Transvaal, he was able to keep the immigrant mining population of Johannesburg (*Uitlanders* or *Outlanders*) from sharing the political power of the Dutch farmers. The *Outlanders* asked for what they held to be their civil rights and fair taxation; and failing to get any concessions they plotted an

armed rising in Johannesburg with the help of Cecil Rhodes. The result was the abortive Jameson Raid from Mafeking, which was crushed at Krugersdorp on New Year's Day 1896, and which was followed by the resignation of Rhodes. The British Government disclaimed responsibility for the Raid, but as it inflicted no punishment on Rhodes or the Raiders its professions were not believed; and Kruger set himself to arm his burghers in such a way that, when Great Britain openly took up what was thought to be its settled intention of destroying the Boer Republics, he should be able to defeat the plan and turn the British out of South Africa.

§ 572. *The Great Boer War, 1899-1902.*—In the summer of 1899 Kruger, Steyn (President of the Orange Free State) and Sir Alfred Milner, High Commissioner for South Africa, met in conference at Bloemfontein to settle outstanding questions; and on the failure of their negotiations each side prepared for war. In October the Boer Republics sent a joint ultimatum requiring Great Britain to cease sending reinforcements to South Africa; and on her refusal they invaded Natal and the Cape Colony. They wasted time in laying siege to Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking; and, on the other hand, Sir Redvers Buller, who was sent out to take chief command against them, divided his forces so much that both he and his colleagues were badly defeated in December 1899. Thereupon the British Government sent out Lords Roberts and Kitchener at the head of large forces, regulars and volunteers from all parts of the Empire. In February 1900 they relieved Kimberley, and captured a large force under Cronje at Paardeberg; and about the same time Buller relieved Ladysmith. Bloemfontein was captured on March 13, and the Orange Free State was formally annexed on May 28. Pretoria was captured on June 5, and the Transvaal was formally annexed on September 1. It was thought that the war was over; but the Boers and their sympathisers in Cape Colony gave Lord Kitchener nearly two years hard work before peace was made on 31 May 1902. The war seems to have taught both British and Boers to respect one another; and it remains to be seen whether the politicians will be able to build a united South Africa on the basis of this mutual respect. The universal rejoicing at the conclusion of this great struggle found fitting expression in the coronation of King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra on August 9, 1902.

§ 573. *Turkey and India, 1885-1902.*—The expansion of Europe and Great Britain has not been confined to Africa. In Asia, Turkish dominion has remained intact entirely through the jealousies

of the European Powers : no one dared to intervene effectively on behalf of the Armenians in 1895 ; and when Greece took up arms on behalf of Crete two years later, Europe merely intervened to save Greece from utter destruction. The future of Turkey and of Persia presents geographical, religious and diplomatic difficulties which, it may be dogmatically asserted, cannot be solved in a way satisfactory, or even tolerable, to all parties concerned. Further east, Great Britain has continued to strengthen her north-west frontier of India against the dreaded Russian invasion : the chief incidents in this sphere during recent years have been the Penjdeh Incident of 1884 (which nearly led to an Anglo-Russian war, but which ended in the joint delimitation of the Afghan frontier), the Chitral campaign of 1895, and the Afridi Rising of 1897. On the eastern side of India, Great Britain has strengthened her position by the annexation of Burmah in 1886 (followed by a long and arduous struggle against dacoits or bandits), and the conclusion of an *Anglo-French Agreement* regarding Siam in 1896.

§ 574. China, 1895-1902.—The chief Asiatic opportunity for aggrandisement, however, is furnished by the weakness of China, clearly demonstrated in the brief war of 1895 between China and Japan. Russia successively acquired a right to build and guard the Pacific end of her great Trans-Siberian railway across Manchuria, and later the lease of a terminal ice-free harbour at Port Arthur ; in 1897 Germany acquired the port of Kiao-Chau and the commercial rights in its vicinity ; and in 1898 Great Britain acquired the lease of a neighbouring port in Wei-hai-wei, which has not yet shown signs of rivalling Hong-Kong in importance. On the whole, Great Britain and the United States have favoured the policy of the "open door" in China, and have tried to prevent the partition of the Empire. The Chinese Government, however, naturally irritated by the greed of the European Powers, and by the aggressiveness of their missionaries, instigated and then openly countenanced an anti-foreign "Boxer" rising which broke out in the summer of 1900. For nearly two months the European colony in Peking was besieged in the British Legation, but was relieved by a joint force of Europeans, Japanese, and Americans. The suppression of the rising was followed by the outbreak of fresh rivalries and intrigues among the Powers ; and the fate of China is still as uncertain as that of Turkey. Early in 1902 Great Britain and Japan, two of the Powers most interested in preserving the integrity of China, entered into a close alliance which may become as important as the *Triple Alliance*

between Austria, Germany and Italy (dating from 1887) and the answering *Dual Alliance* of France and Russia (dating from 1891).

§ 576. *The Pacific and the Australian Commonwealth, 1901.*—The establishment of Russia and Germany in good positions on the eastern coast of Asia, the conclusion of the *Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, the annexation by the United States of Hawaii and the Philippine Islands (at the close of their brief war with Spain in the summer of 1898), and the *Anglo-German Agreement* of 1899 concerning Samoa, are among the principal recent illustrations of the growing importance of the Pacific Ocean. The annexation of Fiji by Great Britain in 1874 (with the good-will of the natives), the partition of New Guinea in 1884 between Great Britain, Holland, and Germany, and the proclamation in 1888 of a British protectorate over North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak were earlier indications of the same significant fact. The growing interests of European Powers in the Pacific were the chief cause of the movement in favour of Australian, or even Australasian, federation. The principal stages in the movement were the erection of a Federal Council for Australia in 1885, the *Imperial Defence Act* of 1888 (which arranged for the formation of a special squadron in Australasian waters at the joint expense of the Mother Country and the Colonies), and the *Australian Commonwealth Act* of 1900, which gave imperial sanction to a federal constitution that had slowly been formulated by Australian statesmen and sanctioned by their democratic electorates. The Commonwealth was formally inaugurated on January 1901; and there is good hope that this new federation will prove more successful than the old-fashioned "union" inaugurated exactly a century before (§ 448). At the beginning of the twentieth century statesmen of all parties throughout the British Empire seem to be looking to federal government as the most likely means to overcome the difficulties long experienced in attempts to combine "democracy" with "empire." The Peace Conference held at the Hague in 1899, under the auspices of the Tzar of Russia, may even be regarded as an attempt to realize the dream of Tennyson—in many things the most representative British poet of the nineteenth century—

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that could be ;

* * * * *

Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

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INDEX.

N.B.—The references are to the sections, not to the pages, except where otherwise specified.

The index covers the text only, not the tables, maps, or small-type chapter-headings. These should be consulted with the aid of the list on p. vi, whenever matters genealogical, military, or geographical are being looked up.

BATTLES, SIEGES, and TREATIES are arranged alphabetically under those headings. General Topics, such as Church, Foreign Policy, and English Kings since the Norman Conquest, are indexed only in a general way: details may be readily found with the help of the lists of topics in the chapter-headings.

- Abbots, 22, 76
 Abdallah, Khalifa · 558, 568
 Abou-ghanman Anan, 554
 Abercromby, Sir Ralph · 445, 448
 Aberdeen, George Gordon, E. of · 532, 528-534
 Abhorrens, 239
 Abjuration, 279, 301
 Abolitionists, 425, 456, 492, 542
 Abyssinia, 546
 Acadie: see NOVA SCOTIA
 Aché, Francis, Count of · 378
 Adams, Samuel · 404
Additional Petition and Advice, 20
 — *Titles Bill*, 554
 Aden, 517
 Adullamites, 543, 544
 Afghanistan, 518, 554, 555, 557, 571
 Africa: circumnavigated, 35, English settlements, 161, 300, 225, 226, 277, in Victorian Age, 514, 530, 557, 558, 567-572
 African Company, 569
 Afridia, 573
 Agitators, 191
 Agrarian Revolution, 432
 Agriculture, 29, 89, 432
 Aids (Feudal), 25
 Alabama, 542, 547
 Albemarle, George Monk, D. of · during the Commonwealth, 77, 198, 200, 210; under Charles II., 218, 220, 224-226, 264
 Alberoni, Giulio, Cardinal: (Alexander I., 460, 468, 475 — II., 534 — VI., Pope · 58, 116
 Alien Act, 509
 Aliens, 370
 Alliance, Oath of: 277, 28
- Althorpe, John Charles Lord 487, 497
 Alva, Ferdinand D. · 115-11
 Amboyna, 199
 America: discovered by Europeans 35, 50 (cf. p. 28); colonized by Spaniards, 35, 116, 117, 119, 298 by French, 161, 225; by English 12, 127, 140, 147, 161, 196, 225, 226 273, by Scots, 161; by Dutch, 161 225, 226; in eighteenth century, 320 370, 371, 399-406
American Import Duties Act, 401
 Amherst, Jeffrey, Lord: 376 —, William: 502
 André, Major · 413
 Anjou, Francis, D. of: 119, 123, 124 —, Henry, C. of: see HENRY II. —, Henry, D. of: see HENRY III.
 Annates, 64, 67, 98
 Anne, Q. of England: 140, 285, 299 303-322 — Boleyn, 59, 65-67, 72 — of Brittany, 41 — of Kleves, 79
 Anson, George: 345
 Anti-Corn-Law League, 512, 521
Appeals, Statutes of: First, 65 *Second*, 67
 Appropriation of Supplies, 24, 1 227, 275
 Arabi Pasha, 558
 Aragon, 1, 6, 41, 306
 Arakan, 502
 Arcot, 368
 Argyll, Archibald Campbell, 8th of: opposes Charles I., 171, 1 182; relations with Charles II., 1 220 —, Archibald Campbell, 9th B.

- Arkwright, Richard : 432
 Arlington, Henry Bennet, E. of : 228,
 230, 234
 Armada, Spanish : defeat, 125, 126,
 importance, 127, 131
 Armed Neutrality, 412, 444, 445
 Arminians, 134, 158, 167
Army Enlistment Act, 551
 Army, Standing origin, 187, controls
 Parliament, 191-196, 201, 207, 209,
 feared by Parliament, 213, 218,
 235, 265; controlled by Parliament,
 250, 265, 271, 276, 296; in Ireland,
 182, 255; reformed, 551
 Arnold, Benedict : 404, 413
 Arran, James Hamilton, E. of : 107
Arrow, The, 536
 Arthur, Prince of Wales : 40, 48
Articles of Religion Ten, 77, *Six*,
 75, 77-79; *Forty-two*, 92, *Thirty-*
Nine, 114, 134, 158, 162
 Artillery, 33
 Ashanti War, 548
Ashbourne's Act, 561, 562
 Ashburton, John Dunning, Lord : 411,
 416, 417
 Ashley see SHAFESBURY
 Asia explored by Europeans, 35,
 200, partitioned, 573, 574
 Aske, Robert : 73
 Assam, 502
 Assassination Plots, 122, 123, 125,
 143, 293
 Assembly of Nominees (English).
 202; of Scots Kirk, 165, 166, 171,
 280, 281
 Assiento, 320, 332, 344, 350
 Associations "Eastern," 180, "Loyal,"
 123, 293
 Astley, Sir Jacob : 177, 189
 Athlone, Godart de Ginkel, E. of
 284
 Attainder, 37, 117, 169, 187, 248, 293
 Atterbury, Francis : 334
 Auckland, William Eden, Lord : 516
Augsburg: Religious Peace of, 97;
League of, 261
 Augusta, Princess of Wales : 333, 384
 Aurangzeb, 366
 Australia, 302, 425, 529, 575
Australian Government Act, 529
 — *Commonwealth Act*, 575
 Austria: see TOPICS IN CHAPTER-
 HEADINGS
 Austrian Succession, War of : 346-
 352
 Austro-Prussian War, 346, 358, 373-
 382, 543
 Azores, 127
 Babington, Anthony : 125
 Bacon, Francis : 101
 Baird, Sir David : 445
 Baker, Sir Samuel : 548
 Balance of Power, 49, 97, 298
 Balfour, Arthur James : 563, 566
Ballot Act, 550
 Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, Lord : 161
Bank Charter Act, 492
 Bank of England, 288, 294, 297, 441,
 492
 Bar, Duchy of : 340
 Barbados, 140
 Barclay, Sir George : 293
 "Barebones Parliament," 202
 Baroda, 450
 Baronets, 146
 Barrow, Henry : 129
 Bassein, 409
 Bastwick, John : 164
 Batavian Republic, 439
Bate's Case, 144, 156
 Bath, William Pulteney, E. of : 329,
 341, 348, 355
 Battles Aboukir, 442, Abu Klea,
 558, Adwalton (or Atherton), 180;
 Aghrim (or Aughrim), 248; Albuera,
 465; Alexandria, 465; Aliwal, 519,
 Alma, 533, Almanza, 311; Alme-
 nara, 316, Argaum, 450; Aspern,
 463; Assaye, 450; Athara, 568;
 Auerstadt, 458; Austerlitz, 455, 456;
 Balaclava, 533, Balaic, 445, Ban-
 nockburn, 17, Beachy Head, 283,
 285; Benburb, 197; Blackheath, 46,
 Blenheim, 307; Boomplaz, 530;
 Bosworth, 37, 43; Bothwell Brigg,
 239, 254; Boyne, 283; Brentford,
 179, Brest, 53, 287; Brihuega, 316,
 Bunker Hill, 403, Burgos, 465,
 Buxar, 394; Camperdown, 441;
 Carberry Hill, 110, Castlebar, 447;
 Chalgrove Field, 180; Cheriton, 185;
 Chillianwallah, 531; Clifton, 354,
 Copenhagen, 445, 461; Corbieadale,
 198, Corunna, 462; Cropredy Bridge,
 195; Culloden, 354, Dettingen,
 349; Downs, 226; Duffindale, 90;
 Dunbar, 198; Drumclog, 239; Edge-
 hill, 179; Falkirk, 354; Finsterre,
 357, 454; First of June, 439;
 Flodden, 53, Fontenoy, 352; Fries-

- land, 460; Fuentes d'Oñoro, 465; Glenshiel, 330; Gravelines, 126; Guinegate, 53; Gujrat, 531; Hastenbach, 376; Heights of Abraham, 377; Hohenlinden, 444; Hyères, 350; Inkerman, 533; Isandhlwana, 556; Jena, 458; Killiecrankie, 280; Kilsyth, 186; Krugersdorp, 571; Lagos, 287, 377; La Gudina, 315; La Hague, 286; Laing's Nek, 557; Landen, 287; Langside, 110; Lansdown, p. 112; Laswari, 450; Leipzig, 468; Lexington, 403; Ligny, 472; Lowestoft, 226; Maida, 457; Magenta, 541; Majuba, 557; Malplaquet, 315; Marengo, 444; Marston Moor, 184, 185; Minden, 377; Moodkees, 519; Naseby, 188; Navarino, 481, 482; Neerwinden, 287; Newburn, 167; Newbury, 160, 185; Newton Butler, 282; Nile, 442; Omdurman, 568; Oudenarde, 312; Paardeberg, 572; Passaro, 330; Pentland Hills, 220; Peterloo, 476; Philiphaugh, 186, 188; Pinkie Cleugh, 87; Plassey, 369; Polilore, 409; Portland, 200; Porto Novo, 409; Preston, 192; Prestonsans, 353; Pultowa, 311; Pyramids, 442; Pyrenees, 468; Quatre Bras, 472; Quiberon, 377, 439; Ramillies, 308; Rathmines, 197; Rorke's Drift, 566; Rowton Heath, p. 113; Rullion Green, 220; Saints, 414; St Thome, 367; St Vincent, 408, 441; Salamanca, 465; Sedgemoor, 248; Shan non v Chesapeake, 467; Sheriffmuir, 325; Sinope, 532; Sobraon, 519; Solebay, 226; Solferino, 541; Solway Moss, 82; Southwold, 232; Spurs, 53; Steinkirk, 286; Stoke, 39; Stow-on-the-Wold, 189; Stratton, 180; Talavera, 464; Tel-el-Kebir, 558; Texel, 200; Tippermuir, 186; Toulon, 469; Trafalgar, 554; Truro, 189; Ulundi, 556; Ushant, 357, 408, 438; Villa Viciosa, 316; Vimiero, 462; Vimegar Hill, 447; Vittoria, 468; Wagram, 463, 464; Wandiwash, 378; Waterloo, 473; Worthington Bridge, 210; Worcester, 198; Yarmouth, 200; Yellow Ford, 128; Zaragoza, 316, Zutphen, 123
- Beaconsfield, Benjamin Disraeli, E. of: 521, 527, 539, 544, 546, 553-556
- Beaufort Family, 38; Table, p. xviii
- Bedchamber Question, 518
- Bedford, John Russell, 1st E. of: 90
- , John Russell, 4th D. of: 351, 388
- Begams of Oudh, 421
- Belgium, 480, 491, 567
- Belleisle, 357, 382
- Benbow, 305
- Benevolences, 25, 42, 83, 135, 146
- Bengal, 301, 369, 378, 394, 398, 409
- Bennet, Henry see ARLINGTON
- Bentham, Jeremy 434
- Bentinck, Lord George: 521, 527
- , Lord William 503
- Bereford, Marshal: 465
- Bermudas, 140
- Berwick, James, D. of: 293, 311
- Bible, 78, 137, 142
- Birmingham, 488
- Bishops' Wars, 165, 167, 183
- Bismarck, 547
- Black Hole, 369
- Sea, 532-535, 547
- Blake, Robert 196, 199, 200, 206, 215
- Bloody Assize, 249
- Bloomsbury Gang, 388
- Blucher, Marshal 472
- Board of Control, 421
- Boers, 514, 530, 548, 556, 570-572
- Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount in Anne's reign, 304, 314, 318, 322, 323, afterwards, 334, 341, 348, 383, 385
- Bombay, 224, 366
- Bonner, Edmund 88, 95, 99
- Book of Common Prayer* Edwardian, 88, 90, 92, Elizabethan, 103, 104, 114, 158, 162, 190, Carolian, 219
- of *Homilies*, 88
- of *Rates*, 144
- Booth, Sir George 210
- Borneo, 575
- Boscawen, Edward 371, 376, 377
- Bosnia, 555
- Boston Port Act*, 402
- Boston Tea-Party*, 402
- Botany Bay, 425
- Bothwell, James Hepburn, 4th E. of: 110
- Boulogne, 41, 82, 92, 453
- Bounty, Queen Anne's 321
- Bourbon, House of: Table, p. 45

- Boys, The · 341
 Braddock, Edward · 371
 Bradshaw, John · 184, 215
 Bradstreet, John · 376
Breda, Declaration from · 211, 215
 Bremen, 327
 Bright, John · 512, 539, 543, 544, 547, 549, 557
 Bristol, 50, 180, 248, 488
 —, John Dugby, E. of · 154
 British and Foreign School Society, 493
 — Columbia, 545
 — South African Company, 570, 571
 Broad-Bottom Administration, 351–359
 Brougham, Henry, Lord · 498
 Brumaire, 18th · 443
 Buckingham, George Villiers, 1st D of 148, 150, 151–155, 158
 —, George Villiers, 2nd D of · 228, 230, 234
 —, Edward Stafford, 3rd D of · 58
 Buenos Aires, 457
 Bulgaria, 555
 Bulls, Papal · 74, 112, 113
 Bunyan, John · 233
 Buonaparte, Jerome · 480
 —, Joseph · 457, 458, 462
 —, Louis · 458, 524
 —, Louis Napoleon · 524, 525, 532–535, 541, 547
 —, Napoleon · 440–446, 451–472
 Burghley, William Cecil, Baron · 103, 117
 Burgoyne, John · 408
Burials Act, 580
 Burke, Edmund · 390, 392, 405, 416, 417
 Burma, 502, 531, 573
 Burton, Henry · 164
 Bussy, 378
 Bute, John Stuart, E of · 341, 380, 381, 383–386, 389
 Butler, Samuel quoted, 228
 Butt, Isaac · 553
 Byng, George · 330
 —, John · 373
 Byron, George Gordon, Lord · 481
 Cabal, 228, 229, 234, 235, 291
 Cabinet, 228, 291, 304, 314, 323, 342, 351, 418
 Cabot, John · 35, 50
 Cadiz, 125, 127, 153, 454, 465
 Calais, 57, 76, 100, 126, 224
 Calcutta, 302, 363, 369
 Calder, Sir Robert · 454
Calendar Act, 359
 Calvin, John · 36, 105, 107
 Calvinism, 134, 164, 343
 Cambridge, 78, 118, 257, 550
 Cameron, Richard · 254
 Campbell, Clan · 248, 281
 Campion, Edmund · 120
 Canada, 370, 371, 382, 402, 406, 427, 513, 545
 Canadian Pacific Railway, 545, 561
 Canals, 432, 548
 Canning, George · 461–466, 478–482
 —, Earl · 538
 —, Sir Stratford · 532
 Canon Law, 63
 Cape Breton, 357, 372, 382
 — Colony, 439, 457, 473, 514, 530, 548, 556, 572
 Cardwell, Edward, Lord · 547, 551
 Carisbrooke Castle, 191
 Carlisle, 353
 Carlos, Don, son of Elizabeth Farnese : see CHARLES III
 —, brother of Ferdinand VII. · 501
 Carnarvon, E. of · 544, 545, 556
 Carolina, 370
 Caroline of Anspach, 337, 341
 — of Brunswick, 477
 Carr, Robert · see SOMERSET
 Carteret · see GRANVILLE
 Cartwright, Thomas · 118
 Cash payments · suspended, 441 ; resumed, 476
 Castile, 1, 6, 41, 308
 Castlereagh · see LONDONDERRY
 Catalonia, 308
 Catherme · see KATHARINE
 Catholic Association, 484
 Cato Street Conspiracy, 477
 Cavagnari, Sir Louis · 554
 Cavaliers, 173, 240, 243
 Cavendish, Lord Frederick · 559
 Cavour, 541
 Cecil · see BURGHLEY, SALISBURY, WIMBLEDON
 Celibacy of Clergy, 77, 95
 Cetywayo, 556
 Ceylon, 439, 446
 Chait Singh, 421
 Chamberlain, Joseph · 557, 562, 566, 569
 Champlain, Lake · 406
 Chancellor, Richard · 101

- Chandernagore, 366
 Charles V., Emperor · 56-58, 64, 81, 82, 87, 93-97, 131; Table, p. 45
 — VI., Emperor · as Archduke Charles, 298, 303-308, 311-316; as Emperor, 319, 320, 330, 336, 338, 340, 345-347
 — VII., Emperor · 346, 349, 356
 — I., K. of England, etc · before accession, 138, 146, 150, 151; reign, 152-194
 — II., K. of England, etc · before Restoration, 131, 198, 208, 211, reign, 215-244
 — I., K. of Spain · CHARLES V., EMP.
 — II of Spain, 298
 — III. of Spain (Don Carlos) as Duke of Parma, 338, as King of Naples, 340, 349, 358, as King of Spain, 379
 — VIII., K of the French · 41, 42, 53
 — IX, K. of the French · 115
 — X, K. of France · 485
 — XII. of Sweden, 311, 327, 328, 330
 — the Rash, D. of Burgundy · 4
 Charleston, 413
 Chartered Companies · 127, 147, 161, 225, 297, 302, 568-571
 Chartists, 505, 511, 512, 523
 Chatham, William Pitt, First E. of 341, 349, 354, 355, 361, First Ministry, 361, 364, 376-380, 384, later years, 387-396, 405, 408
 —, John Pitt, 2nd E of 463
 Chelmsford, Lord 556
 Chesapeake, 487
 Chester, 75, 546
 Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope, E. of 341, 351, 359
 China, 503, 517, 536, 566, 574
 Chippenhams Election Petition, 347
 Chits, The 244, 246
 Chivalry, 217
 Choiseul, Stephen Francis, D. of 379
 Christian IV., K of Denmark · 155
 Church (Christian) in Europe · division into East and West, 1, divisions in this Western Church, 36, 56, 105, 120. See below, CLERGY, PAPACY, SUPREMACY
 — in British Isles —
 * (a) *Anglican*: mediæval relations with State, 26, 27; remodelled in consequence of the Reformation—in government, 36, 62-68, 86, 98, 103-105, 118, 190; in ritual, 36, 88, 92, 95, 114, 164, 219; in doctrine, 36, 77, 78, 88, 92, 114, 137, 219; later history, 252, 277, 317, 321, 331, 343, 500
 (b) *Irish* in Reformation times, 81, 128, 129; later, 495, 546, 549
 (c) *Scottish* changes at Reformation, 107, 108, under Stuarts, 142, 165, 190, 221, 280; later history, 321, 520
 Churchill, Arabella · 293, 311
 —, John, Lord see MARI BOROUGH
 —, Lord Randolph 561, 563
 Clare Election, 484
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, 1st E of: 222-227
 —, Henry Hyde, 2nd E of · 246, 255
 Clarkson, Thomas 425
 Claverhouse · see DUNDIE
 Claypole, Elizabeth, Lady 208
 Clement VII., Pope 58, 59, 64, 67
 Clerical Disabilities Bill, 175
 Clerkenwell Prison, 546
 Clifford, Thomas, Lord 228, 230-234
 Clinton, Henry 408, 413
 Clive, Robert, Lord 368, 369, 394
 Clontarf, 520
 Clyde, Sir Colin Campbell, Lord 537
 Coalition Ministries, 418, 456, 528
 Coalitions · First, 437-440, Second, 443-446; Third, 453-460, Fourth, 468, 469; Fifth, 471, 472
 Cobden, Richard · 512, 536, 541
 Codes · Clarendon, 223, Commercial, 284, 410, Penal, 284, 335, 410, 484
 Codrington, Sir Edward 481
 Coinage, 83, 294
 Coke, Edward · 153, 154, 157
 Coleman, Edward 236
 Colley, Sir George · 557
 Collingwood, Cuthbert, Lord · 454
 Colonies, English · in Ireland, 121, 147, 162; elsewhere, 273, 366-371, 399-406, 506, 513, 514, 547, 548, 556-568, 567-575, Table, p. 170 See too AFRICA, AMERICA, AUSTRALIA, EAST INDIES, WEST INDIES
 Columbus, Christopher · 35
 Combination Laws, 479

- Commercial Treaties, 49, 306, 423, 541
 Commission, Court of High: established, 114, 164; abolished, 170; revived, 252, 257; again abolished, 265, 269
 Commissions, Royal. 88, 89, 103, 110, 215, 243
 Committee of Both Kingdoms, 183, 187
 Commons, Estate of the meaning of the term, 23
 —, House of early history, 23-25; weakness in fifteenth century, 8, 50, changes in composition under Tudors, 76, influence on Tudor policy, 57, 62, 95, 98, 109, 114, 130; general surveys of advances during Stuart Period, 133-138, 212-214, 266-273, parliamentary unions, 76, 310, 448, reforms, 411, 422, 487-490, 544, 560
Common Sense, 404
 Commonwealth: events, 195-211, 212, influence, 215, 217, 218, 219, 221
Comprehension Bill, 229, 277
 Compton, Henry 252
 —, Spencer, see WILMINGTON
 Concord, 403
Conduct of the Allies, 319
 "Confederate Catholics," 182, 197
 Confederates Northern Italy, 541
 Conferences Hampton Court, 142, Savoy, 219
Confirmatio Cartarum, 24
 Congé d'Elire, 67
 Congregation, Lords of the 107
 Congregationalism, 134, 180, 202
 Connaught, 162, 197
 Connecticut, 370
 Conservatives, 497
 Consols, 359
Conspiracy to Murder Bill, 539
 Constantinople, 34, 555
 Continental Army, 404
 — Congress, 404
 — System, 459-468
Conventicle Acts, 223, 229, 233
 Conventions, 211, 215-218, 265, 290
 Convicts, 425, 529, 530
 Convocation, ecclesiastical work and organisation, 62, 63, 67, 98, 114, 118; civil work, 166
 Cook, James 425
 Coote, Sir Eyre 378, 409
 Cope, John 353
 Corn Laws, 476, 521
 Cornwallia, Charles, 1st M.: 413, 414, 421, 448, 449
Corporation Act, 223, 337
 Corsica, 396, 438, 440
 Cotton Famine, 542
 Councils, Civil of the North, 73, 170; of Wales, 76, 170, of Regency, 86; of Officers, 191, 193, 201, of Agitators, 191, of State (Commonwealth), 195, 201
 County Councils, 563
Coup d'Etat, 525
 Courtney, see DEVON
 Covenant, National (Scots) First, 120, Second, 165, 187, 198, 220, 223
 Covenanters, 171, 181, 220, 239, 248, 254, 280
Craftsman, The: 341
 Cranborne, Lord see SALISBURY
 Cranmer, Thomas 64-67, 70, 84, 88, 92, 95, 99
 Crimean War, 532-535
 Criminal Law Reform, 479
 Cromwell, Oliver military work, 132, 177, 180, 184, 187, 188, 192, 193, 196-199; civil work, 201-208, 212
 —, Richard: 209
 —, Thomas see Essex
 Cuba, 382
 Cumberland, Ernest, D of 510
 —, William, D of 353, 354, 376
 Customs, 144, 163, 170
 Cyprus, 555
 Dalhousie, James Ramsay, M of: 531, 537
 Dampier, William 302
 Danby see LEEDS
 Danegeld, 25
 Dangerfield, Thomas 236
 Dardanelles, 457, 501, 515
 Darien Scheme, 297, 309
Darnel's Case, 156
 Darnley, Henry Stuart, Lord 109, 110
 Davitt, Michael 553
 Davys, John: 101
 Deane, Richard: 200
 Deccan, 367
Declaration of Independence, 404
 — of Rights, 403
Declaratory Act, 335, 401, 410
De Facto King, Statute 43
 Defender of the Faith, 57
 Defoe, Daniel: 301
 Delaware, 370, 399

- Delhi, 537, 554
 Derby, 355
 —, Edward Stanley, 15th E. of 527, 534, 539, 544, 546
 Derwentwater, James Radcliffe, E of 325
 Desmond Rising, 121
 Devon, Edward Courtney, E of 96
 Devonshire, William Cavendish, 4th D. of: 375
 Dictatorship, 33, 133
 Digby. see BRISTOL
Directory of Public Worship 190
 Directory, The Executive 429, 439, 442, 443
 Dispensing Power: meaning, 251, declared illegal, 265, 278
 Disraeli, Benjamin see BEACONSLIDE
 Dissenters, 214, 256, 277
 Divine Right, 135, 148, 265
 Diwani, 394
 Dominion of Canada, 545
 Dorchester Heights, 404
 Dost Muhammad, 516
 Douay, 316
 Double Government, 392, 394
 Dover, 211
 Drake, Sir Francis 101, 116, 119, 124, 125, 126
Drapier's Letters, 335
 Drunken Administration, 348
 Dryden, John quoted, 206, 228
 Dual Control, 554
 Dublin, 39, 197, 282, 283
 Dudley LEICESTER, NORTHUMBERLAND
 —, Lord Guildford: 94, 96
 —, Sir Edmund: 50, 52
 Duncan, Adam 441
 Dundas, Henry. see MELVILLE
 Dundee, John Graham, Viscount 239, 280
 Dunning see ASHBURTON
 Duplex, François Joseph 367, 368
 Duquesne, 371
 Dutch Wars First, 200, 206, Second, 226; Third, 232; Fourth, 412, 415
 Eastern Question, 442, 481, 501, 515, 532-535, 554, 555, 573
 East India Company, 127, 140, 161, 302, 363, 366, 369, 391, 394, 399
 — Indies, 127, 161, 199, 200
 Ecclesiastical Commission, 499
Ecclesiastical Titles Act, 526
 Economical Reform, 411, 416
Edict of Nantes, 127, 250
 Edinburgh, 87, 165, 196, 220, 248, 280, 347, 353
 Education, 75, 89, 302, 493, 499, 550, 552, 563
 Edward VI. birth, 79, 82; reign, 85-93, 96, 114
 Eftingham, Charles, Lord Howard of: 126
 Egypt Buonaparte's Expedition, 442, 443, 446; under Mehemet Ali, 481, 501, 515. in recent times, 554, 553, 566, 568
 Elba, 469, 471
 Elections, General 144, 168, 311, 301
 Elgin, Lord 529, 530
 Eliot, Sir John 153, 154, 157, 158, 159
 Elliott, Gilbert 414
 Elizabeth, Q of England birth, 65, relations with half-sister, 96, 100, reign, 101-130
 —, daughter of James I. 145
 — of York, 37, 40, 49, 50
 —, Tzarina of Russia 380
 — Farnese, Q of Spain 328, 330, 338
 Ellenbrough, Edward Law, 1st Lord 516
 Emmett, Robert 453
 Empire, Holy Roman 1, 458
Employers' Liabilities Act, 560
 Empson, Sir Richard 50, 52
 Enclosure, 29, 89, 432
Engagement, The 191
 Episcopacy (a) *In the Church of England* assailed, 118, 134, 142, 164, 172, abolished, 175, 183, 187, 190, restored, 213, 219. (b) *In the Church of Scotland* restored, 142, 165, abolished, 165, 190; again restored, 220, again abolished, 280
 Erastianism, 190, 500
 Essex, Robert Devereux, 2nd E. of. 127-129
 —, Robert Devereux, 3rd E of: 175, 177, 179, 180, 185, 187
 —, Thomas Cromwell, E. of 60, 64, 66, 70, 71, 79-81
 Eugene of Savoy, Prince 312, 315
 Eupatoria, 533
 Evangelicals, 78, 137
 Exchequer, 21
Excise Bill, 339
Exclusion Bill, 238, 241, 278
 Excommunication, 74, 112
 Exhibition, Great. 526

- Factory Acts*, 434, 494, 526
Fairfax, Ferdinand, Lord · 180, 184
 —, *Sir Thomas, 3rd Baron* : 177,
 180, 184, 187-189, 191, 192, 196,
 198
Falkland Islands, 396
Family Compacts, 340, 350, 379, 389,
 407
Famines, 398, 520, 523
Fancy Franchises, 539, 544
Fawkes, Guy · 143, 263
Federal Council for Australia, 561,
 575
Federation, Imperial 500, 545, 575
Fenians, 546
Fenwick, Sir John · 293
Ferdinand I, K of Spain · 33, 41, 48,
 53, 56
 — VII, K. of Spain : 462
 — I, Emperor 97
 — II, 150
Feverham, Louis Duras, E of 248
"Fidei Defensor," 57
"Field of the Cloth of Gold," 57
Fiji, 575
Finchley, 353
First-fruits see ANNATES
Fisher, John 69
Fitz-Gerald, Vesey 484
 — *Family · Kildare branch*, 39, 44,
 81, *Desmond branch*, 121
Fitzwilliam, Lord 439, 447
Five Knights' Case, 156
Five Members, 174
Five Mile Act, 223, 233
Five Points, 512
Flanders, 30
Fleetwood, Charles 198
Fleury, Cardinal · 336, 338, 346
Florida, 340, 382, 415
Forbes, 376
Forster, Thomas 325
 —, *W E.* · 547, 550, 559
Forth, Patrick Ruthven, E of · 177
Fort William · in Scotland, 281, in
 Bengal, 302
Fox, Charles James · 405, 416-419,
 436, 453, 456
 —, *Henry, Lord Holland* · 372, 384
France · see TOPICS IN CHAPTER-
 HEADINGS
Francis I, K. of the French : 56-58,
 115
 — II, 87, 102, 107
 — I, *Roman Emperor* : 340, 356
 — II, *Roman Emperor* : 458
Francis, D of Alençon-Anjou : 119,
 123, 124
Franco-German War, 547
Franklin, Benjamin · 404
Frederick, Prince of Wales · 341, 359
 — II, *the Great* 346, 356, 361,
 373-382
 — V., *Elector Palatine* · 145, 148,
 150, 155
Frederickshall, 330
Free Church of Scotland, 520
Freedom of Debate, 109, 114, 149,
 265
Freeman, Mrs 304
Free Ships make Free Goods, 412
Free Trade, 410, 507, 521, 527
French Revolutions, 429, 430, 436-
 443, 465, 486, 524
Frere, Sir Bartle 556
Frobisher, Sir Martin 101, 119
Gaekwar of Baroda, 450
Gage, Sir George 403
Galway, Ruvigny, E of 315
Gama, Vasco da 35
Ganges, 367
Gardiner, Stephen 79, 84, 88, 95, 96, 99
Garibaldi, Giuseppe 541
Geneva, 36, 105
Genoa, 396
George I, K of Great Britain 323-
 336
 — II, 337-359, 365-379
 — III, 362-364, 380-477
 — IV, 426, 466, 477-485
Georgia, 340, 350, 370, 399, 403, 408
Gibraltar, 307, 320, 336, 408
Giffard, Bonaventura 257
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey 101
Ginkel · see ATHELONE
Gladstone, William Ewart early
 career, 497, 528, 543, *ministries*,
 547-552, 557-560, 562, 564
Glencoe, 281
Glenfinnan, 353
Gloucester, William, D of : 299
Godfrey, Sir Edmund Berry 236
Godolphin, Sidney, Viscount · 244,
 246, 274, 288, 291
Gold Coast, 225
Gondomar, 146, 147
Gordon, Charles : 558
 —, *Katharine* : 45, 47
 — *Riots*, 411
Goree, 382
Gortz, George Henry, Baron : 328

- Goschen, George Joachim, Viscount . 547, 562, 566
 Gough, Sir Hugh 519
Grace, Act of 279
 Grafton, A. H. Fitzroy, 3rd D. of 351, 390-393
 Graham see DUNDEE, MONTROSE
 Grampound, 478
 Grand Alliance, The 301, 303, 327
Grand Army Remonstrance, 193
 Granville, John Carteret, E 333, 335, 341, 348-351, 355, 359
 Grasse, François, Comte de 414
 Grattan, Henry 410
 Grattan's Parliament, 410, 447
 Great Contract, 144
 — Fire, 226
 — Pestilence, 29
 — Plague, 226
 — Schism, 2, 36
 — Seal, 54, 299
 — War, 364, 437-473
 Greece, 481, 573
 Greene, Nathanael 413
 Greenwood, John 129
 Gregory VII, Pope 2, 26, 27
 — XIII, Pope: 112, 120, 121, 359
 Grenada, 382
 Grenville, George 351, 385, 387-390, 397, 401
 —, William Wyndham, Lord 453, 456, 457, 466
 —, Sir Richard 127
 Grey, Charles, 2nd E 436, 466, 587-495
 — de Wilton, Arthur, Lord 121
 —, Lady Jane 93, 94, 96
 Grindal, Edmund 118
 Griqualand West, 548
 Guadeloupe, 382
 Guarda Costas, 344
 Guiana, 147, 226
 Guise, House of 87, 107, 124

Habeas Corpus Act, 156, 238, 250
 Hague Conference, 575
 Haider Ali, 409
 Haiderabad, 368
 Hales, Sir Edward 251
 Halifax, 404
 —, Charles Montague, E. of 288, 291, 294, 300, 302
 —, George Savile, M. of 240, 246, 249, 274
 Hamilton, James, D. of 192
 Hampden, John 163, 168, 173, 174, 180
 Hanover, or Brunswick, House of 399
 Hapsburg, House of 33, 97, 102, 131, 132, 148, 155, 298, Tables, pp 45, 186
 Harcourt, Sir William 557, 565
 Hardwicke, Philip Yorke, Lord 359
 Hargreaves, James 432
 Harlech, 189
 Harley, Robert see OXFORD
 Harrington, William Stanhope, E. of 348, 351
 Hartington, M. of 547, 502
 Hastings, Francis Rawdon, M. of 502
 —, Warren 363, 398, 409, 421
 Havana, 381
 Havelock, Sir Henry 537
 Havre, 108
 Hawke, Edward, Lord 357, 377
 Hawkins, Sir John 101, 116, 126
 Hawley, Henry 354
 Hazlerigg, Sir Arthur 174
Heads of Proposals, 191
 Heavy Brigade, 533
 Heligoland, 461, 473, 568
 Henrietta Maria, 137, 151, 153, 169, 174
 —, D of Orleans 224, 230, 299
 Henry VII, K of England 37-50
 — VIII reign, 51-84, allusions, 43, 44, 86, 99, 121
 — II, K of the French 97, 100, 107
 — III, K of the French 115, 124
 — IV, K of France 124, 127, 132
 —, son of James I 145
 —, Patrick 404
 Herat, 536
 Herbert, Sidney 534
 Hertford, Sir William Seymour, M. of 139
 Hicks-Beach, Sir Michael 561, 566
 — Pasha, 558
 High Church, 317, 500
 — Court of Justice, 194
 Highland Regiments, 354
 Highlands, 186, 198, 280, 281
 Hoche, Lazare 447
 Hofmeyr, Jan 571
 Holkar, 409
 Holles, Denzil 159
 Holmes, Sir Robert 225, 232
 Holy Alliance, 475
 — League, 53
 — Places, 532
 Home Rule, 553, 559, 562, 564

- Honduras, 382
 Hong-Kong, 517
 Hood, Sir Samuel · 414, 437
 Hooker, Richard 101
 Hooper, John · 99
 Hopton, Sir Ralph : 180, 185, 189
 Hotham, Sir John · 175
 Howard : see EFFINGHAM, NORFOLK,
 STAFFORD, SURREY
 —, John 425
 Howe, Admiral Lord · 404
 —, General Sir Wm · 404, 406
 Hozier, Francis 336
 Hudson's Bay Territory, 320
 Hudson Valley, 370, 406
 Hughes, Edward 409, 414
 Huguenots, 108, 118, 124, 127, 155,
 158, 160, 250
 Humanitarianism, 425
 Humbert, General 447
Humble Petition and Advice, 207
 Hundred Days, 471, 472
 Hunt, Henry 476
 Huskisson, Wm. 478, 479, 485, 486
 Hyde, Family 224, 246, 253

 Ibrahim Pasha, 481
Idea of a Patriot King, 341
 Ignatius Loyola, 36
 Impeachment · instituted, 24, Stuart
 examples, 149, 151, 154, 169, 227,
 235, 237; later examples, 300, 318,
 324, 421, 456
 Impositions, 135, 144, 153, 170
 "Incident, The" 171
 Income Tax, 552
Indemnity and Oblivion, Acts of 201,
 215, 337
 Independents, 187, 188, 190, 191, 227
 India, 140, 161, 302, 366-369, 378, 394,
 409, 449, 450, 536
India Bulls, 418, 421
Indulgence, Declarations of · Charles
 II.'s, 233, 234, 256; *Black* (in Scot-
 land), 220; James II.'s, *First*, 256,
 257, *Second*, 258
 Indulgences, 56
 Industrial Revolution, 431-434
Instrument of Government, 203-205
Intercursus Magnus and Malus, 49
 Intolerable Acts, 402
 Inventions, 433
 Inverness, 354
 Invincibles, 559
 Ireland · under the Tudors, 42-47, 81,
 121; first English conquest, 128,
- 131, 147; second English conquest,
 162, 171, 182, 188, 197, Restoration
 Settlement, 221, 239, 255; third
 English conquest, 282-284; consti-
 tutional relations with England, 41,
 203, 204, 221, 234
 Ireton, Henry 191, 197, 215
 Irish Brigade, 352
 Ironsides, 184
 Isabella, Q. of Castile; 33, 41, 48
 Ismail, Khedive of Egypt · 554

 Jacobins, 437
 Jacobitism, 280, 286, 290, 293
 Jamaica, 206
 James, Prince of Wales, 300
 — IV, 45, 46, 48, 53
 — V, 91
 — VI reign in Scotland, 109, 111,
 123, succeeds Elizabeth as—
 — I, K. of England, etc., 138;
 reign, 139-151, 153
 — II, K. of England, etc. · before
 accession, 224-226, 232, 234, 238,
 239, 241, 242, reign, 134, 214, 245-
 263, 269, 277, attempts at restora-
 tion, 280-286, 290, 293, 300
 Jeffreys, George, Lord 242, 249, 252
 Jenkin's Ear, 344, 345
 Jennings, Sarah · see MARLBOROUGH
 Jervis, Sir John : 441
 Jesuits, 120, 142, 144, 253, 264
 Jones, Michael 197
 Joseph, Electoral Prince 298
 Jubilees, Queen Victoria's 563, 566
 Judges as supporters of Prerogative,
 144, 156, 157, 163, 251, parlia-
 mentary attempts to secure their
 independence, 168, 238, 274, 299
Judicature Act, 550
 Junius, 362, 392
 Junot, Marshal 462
 Junto, The 291, 300
 Jury, 40, 242, 259

 Kábul, 516, 554
 Kaffir Wars, 530
 Kandahar, 516, 554
 Kars, 555
 Katharine II of Russia, 380
 — of Aragon, 48, 52, 58-66, 72, 95
 — of Braganza, 224
 — Howard, 79, 84
 — Parr, 84, 91
 Kaunitz, Wenceslas, P. of : 373
 Keble, John 500

- Kendal, Duchess of 335
 Kenmuir, William Gordon, Lord 325
 Keppel, Augustus, Viscount 406
 Kerouaille, Louise de: see PORTSMOUTH
 Kett, Robert 90
 Khartoum, 558
 Kidare, Gerald Fitz-Gerald, 8th E of 44
 Kimberley, Lord 547, 548, 557, 565
 King's Bench, 156, 159, 249, 261, 259
 — College, London 499
 — Friends, 384, 395
 Kirke, David 161
 —, Percy 249, 282
 Kitchen, Anthony, Ep. of Llandaff 105
 Kitchener, Sir Herbert, Viscount 568, 572
 Knighthood, 156, 163, 170, 217
 Knox, John 107
 Kossuth, Louis 525
 Kruger, Paul 557, 571, 572

 La Bourdonnais, 357, 367
 Lake, Gerard, Lord 447, 450
 Lally, Count 378
 Lamb, William see MFLBOURNE
 Lambert, John 210, 215
 Lancaster, 353
 Land Act, 549
 Land tenure, 20, 432, 549
 Lansdowne, William Petty, 3rd M of 566
 Latimer, Hugh 78, 99
 Laud, William 134, 137, 158, 163-166, 168, 187
 Lauderdale, John Maitland, D of 220, 228, 234
 Lawrence, Henry 519, 531, 537
 —, John 531, 537
 Leake, 308, 313
 Lecinski, Stanislaus 340
 Leeds, Thomas Osborne, D of political career as Lord Danby (1673-1689), 235, 237, 262, as Marquess of Caermarthen (1689-1694), 274
 Leicester, Robert Dudley, E of 109, 123
 Lenthal, William 209
 Leo X, Pope 54, 56
 Leslie, David 188, 198
 Letters Patent, 72, 151
 —, Papal 64
 Levellers, The 196
 Leven, Alexander Leslie, E. of 165, 184, 188
Lex Regia, 60
 Liberalism, 474
 Liberal Unionists, 562-566
 Liberty of the Press, 397
 — of the Subject: in Person, 157, 170, 172, 338, 276, in Property, 157, 172; in Thought, 104, 147, 172, 211, 277, 292
Licensing Act, 222, 292
 Light Brigade, Charge of 533
 Lilburne, John 196
 Lincoln, John, E of 38, 39
 Lindsey, Montague Bertie, E of 177
 Lisbon, 461, 464
 Lisle, John, Lord see NORTHUMBERLAND
 Liturgy, Anglican 88, 90, 92, 95, 104, 165, 190, 219
 Liverpool & Manchester Railway, 466
 —, Robert Jenkinson, E of 466-482
 Livery, 40
 Livingstone, David 571
 Local Government, 498, 508, 563, 564
 Locke, John 294
 Lockhart, Sir William 206
 Lollards, 99
 Lombardy, 440
 London Tudor, 46, 58, 94, 96, 127; Stuart, 167, 174, 177, 185, 193, 210, 211, 259, 263
 — University, 499
 Londonderry, Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, M of 461, 463, 475, 478
 Lords, House of origins, 21, 22, constitutional relations with the Commons, 153, 169, 173-175, 235, 236, 240, 264, 299; abolished, 194, 195, 212, restored, 213; lords spiritual, 76, 175, 190, 219; privilege, 154
 Lorraine, 340, 396
 Louis XI, K of the French 33
 — XII, 53, 56
 — XIII, K. of France 151
 — XIV, 132, 214, 224, 229-232, 242, 250, 261, 295-300
 —, son of Louis XIV.: 298
 — XV, 325, 328
 — XVI, 429, 437
 — XVIII, 469, 473
 — Philippe, 486, 522, 524
 — Napoleon see BUONAPARTE
 Lounana, 370, 382, 415, 452
 Lovell, Francis, Viscount 39
 Lowe, Robert 540, 543, 547
 Lowlands, 186, 239, 280
 Luther, Martin 36, 56, 57

- Luttrell, Henry Lawes. 293
 Luxembourg, Henry de Montmorency, D of 287
 Lytton, Lord 557

 Macaulay, Thomas, Lord: 497
 Macdonald, Flora 354
 MacDonald, Ian 281
 Mackintosh, Sir James 436
 Madras, 161, 366, 367
 Mahdi, 558
 Mahé, 396
 Maintenance, 40
 Majors-General, Cromwellian 205
 Malta, 442, 444, 446, 452, 473
 Manchester, Edward Montague, 3rd E of impeachment when Lord Kimbolton, 174, head of the Eastern Association, 180, 184, 187
 Manila, 381
 Manitoba, 515
 Mansfeld, Ernst, Count von 150, 151
 Mar, John Erskine, E of 325
 Maráthá Wars, 409, 450, 502
 Margaret Beaufort, 38, 69
 —, daughter of Henry VII 48, 139
 — of Burgundy (or York) 38, 42, 43, 45, 49
 Maria Louisa, 463
 — Theresa, Q of Hungary 338, 346, 350, 373
 Marlborough, John Churchill, D of 283, 287, 303-319, 323
 —, Sarah Jennings, D of 303, 317
 Marlowe, Christopher 101
 Marmont, August Louis. 465
Marrage 411, 359
 —, *Royal* 397
 Martial Law, 156, 157, 205, 276
 Marvell, Andrew quoted, 194
 Mary I, Q of England before accession, 58, 67, 73, 93; sole reign, 94-97; reign with Philip, 33, 98-100, 121
 — II., Q of England before accession, 235, 241, 260-265, reign, 274-289, effects of death, 290, 291
 — of Guise, 87, 107
 —, Q of Scots: youth, 82, 87, claim to English crown, 102, 106, French Queen, 107; in Scotland, 108, 109; in England, 110-125
 — Tudor, younger daughter of Henry VII.: 53, 93
 — of Modena, 234, 263
 Maryland, 370, 399
 Masham, Abigail, Lady: 317
 Mason, 542
 Massachusetts, 370, 403
Massachusetts Government Act, 462
 Masséna, Marshal 464, 465
 Massey, John 252
 Matthews, Thomas 349, 350
 Maurice, Prince 177
 Mauritius, 378, 473
 Maximilian I., Emperor. 41, 43, 53
Mayflower, The 147
 Maynooth, 549
 Mazarin, Julius, Cardinal 132
 Meerut, 537
 Mehmet Ali, 481, 501, 515
 Melbourne, 518
 —, William Lamb, Viscount 485, 487, 495-497, 510, 518
 Melville, Henry Dundas, Viscount 421, 438, 456
 Mentchikoff, Prince 533
 Methodists, 343
 Methuen, Paul 306
 Metternich, Prince 475, 481, 524
 Middlesex, Lionel Cranfield, E of 151
 Midlothian campaign, 557
 Miguel, Dom 501
 Milan, 53, 298
 Milanese, 298, 350
 Militia, 171, 175, 2
Millenary Petition, 142
 Milton, John 228
 Minorca, 320, 350, 374, 375, 382, 415
 M'Intosh, 325
 Minute Men, 403
 Mir Kásum, 384
 Mississippi, 370, 382
 Miscolonghi, 481
 Mogul Empire, 398, 537
 Moidart, 353
 Moura, Lord see HASTINGS
 Mompesson, Sir Giles 149
 Monasteries, 55, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 81, 89, 95
 Money Grants, 170
 Monk, George. see ALBEMARLE
 Monmouth, James, D. of. 232, 239, 241, 242, 248
 Monopolies, 130, 135, 149, 151
 Monroe Doctrine, 480, 567
 Monroe, Robert. 182, 197
 Montague. see HALIFAX, MANCHESTER, SANDWICH
 Montcalm, Louis Joseph, M of: 375, 377
 Montgomery, Richard. 404
 Montreal, 377

- Montrose, James Graham, M. of: 177,
 186, 188, 198
 Moore, Sir John: 462
 Moray, James Stuart, E. of: 107, 111
 More, Sir Thomas: 60, 66, 69, 101
 Moreau, John Victor: 444
 Morgan, Sir Henry: 344
 Morley, Mrs. 304
 Mornington, Lord see WELLERLEY
 Morton, John: 50
 Moscow, 468
 Mountjoy, Charles Blount, Lord. 128
 Munchengratz, 501
Municipal Corporations Reform Act,
 498, 508
 Munro, Hector 394, 409
 Murray: see MORAY
Mutiny Act, 276, 419
 Mysore Wars, 409, 449
 Nagapatnam, 415
 Napier, Sir Charles 515, 519, 533
 —, Sir George 514
 Naples, Kingdom of 53, 97, 298, 320,
 443, 446, 475
 Napoleon see BONAPARTE
 Narrow Seas, 200
 Natal, 514, 556, 557, 573
 National Debt, 288, 296, 332, 359, 423,
 476
 Nationality, 435, 506
Navigation Act, 200, 226, 400, 401,
 479, 526
 Nelson, Horatio, Viscount 441, 442,
 445, 451, 454
 Netherlands gathered together by
 Valois Dukes of Burgundy, 4, pass
 to Hapsburgs, 33, 115; rise in rebel-
 lion against Philip II., 115-117.
 henceforth divided into two parts—
 as below; reunited, 473, 486
 —, Spanish. 229, 285, 320, 437, 486
 —, United: political alliance with
 England, 122-127. 131, 132, 141,
 commercial rivalry, 199, 200, 226,
 230, 232; alliance renewed, 229, 235,
 242, 246, 261, 295; in eighteenth
 century, 303, 320, 328, 356, 412, 424,
 439
 Neutrality, The Armed: 412, 444
 New Amsterdam, 225; New Caledo-
 nia, 297; New England, 147,
 161, 162, 172, 225, 249, 399; New
 Jersey, 370, 399; New Learning,
 64; New Model, 187, 188; New
 Monarchy, 7-9, 33; New South
 Wales, 425, 529; New Testament,
 78; New World, 35, 101, 116, 137;
 New York, 225, 370, 399, 401, 406,
 408; New Zealand, 529
 Newark, 39, 189
 Newcastle, Thomas Pelham, 1st D. of.
 335, 351, 372, 375, 384, 390
 —, William Cavendish, D. of: 180,
 184
 Newfoundland, 50, 320, 415
 Newman, John Henry, 500
Newspaper Stamp Act, 323
 Newton, Isaac 291
 Nicholson, John 537
 Niger, 567, 569
Nineteen Propositions, 175
 Nithsdale, William Maxwell, Lord.
 325
 Nizâm, 367, 449
 Nonconformists in England (a) Catho-
 lic, 160, 214, 233, 254, 256-258, 411,
 456, 484, (b) Protestant, 129, 214, 223,
 229, 233, 240, 248, 253, 254, 256-258,
 270, 277, 337, 483
 Non-Intervention, 435, 475, 480
 Non-jurors, 277
 Non-Resistance, 219, 223, 235, 253,
 277
 Norc. Mutiny at the 441
 Norfolk, Thomas Howard, 2nd D. of
 as E. of Surrey, 47, wins battle of
 Flodden, 53
 —, Thomas Howard, 3rd D. of 60,
 64, 73, 79, 84
 —, Thomas Howard, 4th D. of. 111,
 117, 241
 Norris, Sir John 350
 North, Frederick, Lord. 362, 363, 391,
 393, 395-402, 417, 418
 North Briton, 386
 Northumberland, Thomas Percy, 7th
 E. of 111
 —, John Dudley, D. of: 84, 90-94,
 109
 Nottingham, Daniel Finch, E. of: 274
 Nova Scotia, 161, 226, 320, 370
 Noy, William 163
 Oates, Titus 236
 O'Brien, Smith 523
 Obstruction in Parliament, 553
Occasional Conformity Act, 321, 331
 O'Connell, Daniel 484, 495, 520
 O'Connor, Feargus: 523
 Ogleshorpe, James. 340
 Ohio Valley, 370, 402

- Oligarchy · Presbyterian, 134; Whig 351, 360, 361, 375, 383
Olive Branch Petition,
 O'Neil, Hugh 128
 —, Shane 121
 —, Owen Roe 197
 Ontario, 545
 Opdam, 226
 Opium War, 517
 Opposition, The, 166, 169, 173, 235-241, 331, 341, 344, 347, 416-419, 488, 489, 497
 Orange Free State, 514, 530, 572
 —, William the Silent, P. of 122, 131. See also WILLIAM III
 Orders in Council, 459, 467
 Ordinances, 175, 187, 195, 201, 270
 Orford, Edward Russell, E. of 274
 286, 291, 300
 —, Robert Walpole, E. of see WALPOLE
 Orleans, Philip, D. of 224, 326
 Ormonde, James Butler, 1st D. of 182, 184, 197, 221, 246
 —, James Butler, 2nd D. of 318
 Ormni's Plot, 539
 Ostend Company, 336, 338
 Oudh, 531, 537
 Overbury, Sir Thomas 116
 Oxenham, John 119
 Oxford City, 75, 179, 185, 188, 189, 211, University, 118, 252, 257, 199
 —, Robert Harley, 1st E. of 204, 304, 314, 317, 318, 322, 324
 Pacific, 119, 575
 Paine, Tom 404, 436
 Palatinate, 145, 155
 Palliser, Admiral Sir Hugh 408
 Palmerston, Henry Temple, 3rd Viscount early career, 485, 487, foreign policy, 491, 498, 501, 515, 522, 525, 528, 532, Premier, 534-536, 540-542
 Panama, 320, 344
 Papacy rise to importance, 1, 3, loses the obedience of England, 57-68, 98; attacks Elizabeth, 104, 112, 120, 121 See IRELAND, NONCONFORMISTS, PENAL CODE
 Parish, 180, 496
 Parker, Matthew 114
 —, Richard 441
 —, Samuel 257
 Parliaments (English), known by special names Addled, 146, Barebone's, 202, Cavalier, 222, 223, 227, 235, Convention (1st), 215-219, 222, Convention (2nd), 264, 265, 267, 275-278, Healing, 218, Lattle, 201, Long (Reformation), 61-71, 77, Long (Puritan Revolution), 168-175, 190-195, 201, 210, 270, Long (Restoration), 222, 224, 236, Model, 23; Nominees, 202, Oxford, 241; Penmon, 235, Reformation, 61, 64, 71; Rump, 193-195, 197, 200, 201, 209, 210, Seven Years', 61-71, 77; Short, 166
 Parma, 338, 340, 358
 —, Alexander Farnese, P. of 126
 Parnell, Charles Stuart 553, 559, 563
 Parsons, Robert 120
 Party-Government early phases, 136, 271, 291, 304, 314, 318, in Walpole's time, 323, 329, 341, 342, 348, 351; later, 359, 383, 393, 416-419, 453, 456, 497
 Paterson, William 297
 "Patriot King," 383
 "Patriots," 341, 348
 Patronage in the Scots Church, 321, 520
 Paul I. of Russia, 444, 445
 — III, Pope 74, 112
 — IV, Pope 100
 Pauperism, 130, 439, 496
 Peel, Sir Robert (the younger), early offices, 478, 479, 482, 485, 487, 495, ministries, 497, 518-521
 Peelite, 527, 528, 534
Peerage Bill, 331
 Pegu, 531
 Pelham, Henry 351, 352, 354, 359
 —, Thomas see NEWCASTLE
 Penal Code (a) England, 108, 113, 120, 129, 142, 144, 247, 270, 277, 299; (b) Ireland, 162, 255, 284, 335
 Penjdeb, 573
 Penn, Sir William 300, 206
 —, William 256
 Pennsylvania, 256, 370, 399
 Penruddock, John 205
 Penny, John 129
People's Charter, 505, 512, 523
 Pepperell, Sir William 357
 Pepys, Samuel 229
 Perceval, Spencer 461-466
 Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 421
Perpetuation Bill, 201
 Persia, 536, 573

- Perth, 353
 Peter I., the Great 311
 Peterborough, Charles Mordaunt, E of 308
 Peterhead, 325
 Peterloo, 476
 Peter-Pence, 67
Petition of Right, 157, 158
 Petitions, 157, 193, 222, 239, 259, 265
 Petre, Edward 253
 Philadelphia, 403, 405
 Philip, Arthur 425
 —, Don, D of Parma 340
 — I., K. of Castile 41, 43, 49
 — II., K of Spain as K of England, 33, 98-100, relations with Elizabeth, 102, 104, 108, 109, 115-117, 119, 122, 124-129, 131
 — V., K. of Spain 298, 301, 303, 320, 328
 Philippines, 382
 Phoenix Park, 550
 Piacenza, 338, 340, 358
 Piedmont, 440
 Pilgrimage of Grace, 73
 Pilgrim Fathers, 147
 Pindaris 502
 Pitt, William, the Elder see CHATHAM
 —, William, the Younger First Ministry, 364, 419-427, 436-445, 447, 448, Second Ministry, 453-456
 Pittsburgh, 371
 Pius IV., Pope 104
 — V., Pope 112, 115
Placemen's Bill, 235
 Plots Army, 169, Jacobite, 203, Babington, 125, Bye, 139, Cato Street, 477, Gunpowder, 143, Incident, 171, Main, 139, Popish, 112, 236, Rudolf, 117, Rye-House, 242, Throgmorton, 122
 Pluralities, 61
 Plymouth, 180, New, 147, 161
 Poland, 396, 437, 460, 473, 475, 480, 491
 Pole, Reginald 74, 96-100
 Polish Election, War of 340
 Pondicherry, 366, 378
Poor Law, First General 130
 Porteous Riots, 347
 Portland, Richard Weston, E of 163
 —, William Bentinck, 1st D of 300
 —, William Bentinck, 3rd D. of 418
 Porto-Bello, 320, 330, 345
 Portsmouth, Louise de la Kerouaille, D of 234, 244
 Portugal, 1, 35, 116, 122, 127, 132, 224, 287, 306, 461-465, 475, 501, 568-570
 Post Office, 511
 Power Loom, 432
Poyning's Law, 44, 81, 410
 Poyning, Sir Edward 44, 45
Præmunire, Statutes of 27, 62, 113, 251
 Pragmatic Army, 349
Pragmatic Sanction, 336, 338
 Prerogative, 19-28, 133-135, 384
 Presbyterianism in England, 118, 134, 183, 187, 190, in Scotland, 105, 183, 190, 220, 280
 Press, Printing origins, 34, 114, in Stuart Period, 222, 292, in eighteenth century, 311, 380, 392, 397, 427, 436, in nineteenth century, 470, 540
 Preston, 192, 353
 Pretender see STUART
 "Pride's Purge," 193, 195
 Prime Minister, 228, 291, 342
 Prince Edward's Island, 545
 Privilege of Parliament, 109, 114, 144, 149, 159
 Privy Council, 40, 44, 55, 73, 79, 103, 113, 162, 170, 237, 247, 299
Property Qualification Act, 322
 Prophecysings, 118, 142
 Protector title held by Somerset, 86-91, Oliver Cromwell, 203-208; Richard Cromwell, 209
 Protestant Ascendancy, 284, 300, 410
Protestant Interests Act, 331
 Protestantism, 66, 78, 87, 92, 112, 118, 131-136
 Protestant Succession, 328, 329, 330, 360
Protestation, The 149
 Protesters, 192
 Providence, 161
Provisions, Statutes of 27
 Prussia see TOPICS IN CHAPTER-HEADING, CH XVI-XXXI
 Prynne, William 164, 168
Public Advertiser, 392
 Pulteney, William see BATH
 Punjab, 519, 531, 537
 Puritans, 105, 114, 134, 137, 142, 147, 161, 164, 173, 176, 197, 213
 Pusey, Edward Bouverie 500

- Pym, John · 153, 157, 169, 173, 174, 183, 215
Quadruple Alliance, 330, 475, 501, 515
 Quakers, 359
"Quamdiu se bene gesserint," 299
 Quebec, 161, 376, 377, 404, 427, 513, 515
Quebec Act, 402
 Queen Anne's Bounty, 321
 Queen Regnant, 94-130, 274-289
 Radicals, 393, 474
 Raffles, Sir Stamford 517
 Raglan, Lord 533
 Railways, 432, 486
 Raleigh, Sir Walter 121, 127, 129, 141, 147, 148
 Rê, or Rhé, Isle of 155
Reciprocity of Duties Act, 479
Recognition of the Headship, 62
 Recusants, 129, 142, 155, 233, 234, 277
"Redress before Supply," 154
Reflections on the French Revolution, 436
 Reformation Hildebrandine, 2, 26, Protestant, 36-50, 92, 107, Tridentine, 112, 120
Reform Bills, 422, 488-490, 540, 543, 544, 560
Regency Act, 323
— Bill, 388, 426
 Regicides, 215, 279
Regium Donum, 549
Régens in Exceles, 112, 113, 115
Regulating Act, 398, 399
 Reign of Terror, 436
Remittal, Bill of 83
Remonstrance, Grand 173
 Renaissance, 34, 36, 51, 101, 131
Renunciatory Act, 417
 Repeal Agitation, 495, 520
 Representation, 23-25, 201, 247
 Republics Parliamentary, 138, 195, 199, 201; Presidential, 138
Rescissory Act, 220
 Responsibility of Ministers to Parliament, 151, 153, 170, 172, 299
 Restoration, The 210-224
Resumption Act, 296
 Revolution · American, 360, 363, 364, 399-415, 428; French, 364, 430, 431, 437-480, Industrial, 364, 432, 435; Protestant, 132, 135, 231, 237, 263, 267, 273; Puritan, 135, 337
 Rhine, Confederation of the 458
 Rhode Island, 161, 370
 Rhodes, Cecil · 563, 570, 571
 Richard, son of Edward IV. · 42
 Richelieu, 132, 155
 Ridley, Nicolas · 99
 Right of Search, 358, 412, 445, 467
Rights · Bill of, 299, *Declaration of*, 265; *Petition of*, 156-158
Rights of Man, 436
 Rights of the People, 386, 393
 Rinuccini, 197
Riot Act, 324
 Ripon, Frederick Robinson, 1st E. of · 478, 495
 —, (George Robinson, 2nd E. of · 557
 Ripperda, John, Baron 336
 Roberts, Sir Frederick, Viscount 554, 572
 Robespierre, Maximilian 438
 Robinson, John 147
 —, Sir Thomas 372
 Rochefort, 375, 472
 Rochester, Lawrence Hyde, E. of 214, 246, 318
 Rockingham, Charles Wentworth, M. of 390, 410, 416, 417
 Rodney, George Brydges, Baron 414
 Rohillas, 421
 Roman Catholics see PAPACY, NON-CONFORMISTS
 Rooke, Sir George 287, 307
Root and Branch Bill, 172
 Rose, Hugh James 500
 Rotten Boroughs, 422, 478, 491
 Roundheads, 173
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques 429
 Rowan, Hamilton 447
 Royalists, 176-190, 211, 216-221
Royal Marriage Act, 397
 Rumbold, Horace 248
 Rupert, Prince 177, 180, 184, 192, 196, 199, 226
 Rupertsland, 320
 Russell, John, E. early career, 478, 488, 498, 528, 534, 540, Ministry, 523-526, 529
 —, William, Lord 235, 242
 — see BEDFORD, ORFORD
 Russia see TOPICS IN CHAPTER-HEADINGS, CH XVII-XXXI.
 Ruyter, Michael Hadrian de 200, 226
 Sacheverell, Dr Henry · 318, 321
 St Albans, Francis Bacon, Viscount: 146, 149
 St Bartholomew's Day, 118

- St. George, Chevalier de 312
 St. Helena, 235, 472
 St. John, Henry see BOLINGBROKE
 —, Knights of 442, 446
 St. Lawrence, 357, 370, 404
 St. Ruth, 284
 Salic Law, 501, 510
 Salisbury, 205
 —, Robert Cecil, E. of 129, 138,
 141, 143, 144, 145
 —, Margaret Pole, C. of 74
 Salsette, 409
 Saneroff, William 259, 277
 Sandwich, Edward Montague, E. of
 226, 232
 —, John Montague, 4th E. of 388
 Sandys, Edwin 318
Sanquhar Declaration, 254
 Sardinia, 313, 320, 330, 358, 534, 541
 Sarsfield, Patrick 283, 284
 Sati, 503
 Saunders, Sir Charles 368, 377
 Savile see HALIFAX
 Saxe, Marshal 352
 Saxony, 373, 374, 473
Schism Act, 321, 331
 Schleswig-Holstein, 541
 Schmalkaldic War, 87, 97
 Scone, 198
 Scotland personal union with Eng-
 land, 48, 139, under Stuarts, 65,
 166, 168, 187-192, 198, 220, 239, 254,
 280, 381, in eighteenth century,
 309, 310, 321, 325, 353, 354, 411
Scottish Patronage Act, 321, 520
 Scroggs, Sir William 212
 Scrooby, 147
 Sea Powers, 132, 298
 Secrecy of Debate, 397
 Secretariate, 274, 329, 351, 416, 418,
 438, 529, 538
Security, Act of 309
Self-denying Ordinance, 187
 Senegal, 382, 415
 Separatists, 129
Septennial Act, 326, 331
Settlement, Act of 299, 300, 309,
 327
 Seven Bishops, The 259, 260, 277
 — Men of Moldart, 353
 Seven Years' War, 358, 361, 365-382,
 407, 412
 Seymour see HERTFORD, SOMERSET
 —, Jane 79, 86
 — Thomas, of Sudeley 91
 Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper,
- E. of 214, 225, 228, 229, 234, 235,
 238, 239, 241, 242
 —, Evelyn Ashley, Lord 494
 Sháh Shúja, 516
 Shakspeare, William 101
 Sharpe, James 220, 239
 Shelburne, William Petty, E. of 416,
 417
 Sheridan, Richard Brinsley 421
 Sheriff, 21, 151
 Ship-money, 135, 163, 168, 170
 Shuppen, William 341
 Shír Ah, 554
 Shore, Sir John 419
 Shrewsbury, Charles Talbot, D. of 274
 Sicily, kingdom 298, 330, 340
 Sidmouth, Henry Addington, Viscount
 410, 452, 453, 456, 466, 476, 478
 Sidney, Algernon 242
 —, Philip 101, 123
 Sieges Acre, 442, 515, Alexandria,
 457, Arcot, 368, Athlone, 281;
 Badajos, 465, Baltimore, 467, Bar-
 celona, 308, Boston, 403, 404, Bou-
 logne, 82, Buenos Aires, 457, Can-
 ton, 536, Carthage, 345; Cawn-
 pore, 537, Ciudad Rodrigo, 465
 Colchester, 192, Constantinople,
 457, Copenhagen, 461, Delhi, 537,
 Drogheda, 197, Dunkirk, 206,
 Edinburgh Castle, 111, Enniskillen,
 282, Flushing, 463; Fort Duquesne,
 376, Fort Frontenac, 376, Fort St
 David, 378, Fort William Henry,
 376, Gibraltar, 307, 336, 408, 414,
 Gloucester, 180, Gwalior, 537,
 Herat, 536, Hull, 175, 189,
 Khartoum, 558, Kimberley, 572;
 Kinsale, 128; Ladysmith, 572, La
 Rochelle, 155, 158, Leith, 107,
 Lille, 312, Limerick, 283, 284, Lon-
 donderry, 282; Lostwithiel, 185;
 Louisburg, 357, 376; Lucknow, 537;
 Madras, 357, 367, 378, Mafeking,
 572, Magdala, 546, Mahé, 409; Maid-
 stone, 192, Mons, 286, Monte Video,
 457, Montreal, 404, Namur, 286,
 293, New Orleans, 467; Odessa,
 533, Oswego, 375; Peking, 574;
 Pembroke, 192, Philadelphia, 406;
 Pondicherry, 378, 409, Porto Bello,
 336, 345, Preston, 325, Plymouth,
 180; Quebec, 161, 377, 404; Roche-
 fort, 375, St. Andrews, 87; Sara-
 toga, 363, 406; Savannah, 408;
 Sebastopol, 533, 534, Seringapatam,

- 449, *Smerwick*, 121, *Terouenne*, 53, *Torres Vedras*, 461; *Toulon*, 437, *Trichinopoly*, 368, *Ulm*, 455, *Washington*, 467, *Waterford*, 45, *Wexford*, 197, *Yorktown*, 363, 413
- Sikh Wars*, 519, 531
- Silema*, 346, 373
- Simmel, Lambert* 39 41
- Sindh*, 519
- Sindhua*, 409, 170
- Singapore*, 517
- Siraj-ud-daula*, 369
- Sir Acts*, 476
- Sixtus V., Pope* 112
- Slavery*, 116, 320, 425, 456, 492, 514
- Sidell*, 542
- Smith, Adam* 420
- , *Sir Harry* 519, 530
- , *Sir Sydney* 442
- Solemn League and Covenant*, 181, 183 190, 219, 223
- Somers, John, Lord* 259 291, 294, 301 309, 311, 323
- Somerset, Edward Seymour, D of* 81, 86-89, 91, 92
- , *Robert Carr, D of* 146
- Sophia of Hanover*, 209
- Soult, Nicholas* 461, 465 469
- South African Republic*, 530 556 557 570-572
- , *Sea Bubble*, 332 333, 344
- , *Sea Company*, 332
- Southampton*, 47
- Spain* see *TORIES AT THE HEAD OF EACH CHAPTER*
- Spanish Marriages* 523
- , *Succession*, 298 320 328, 336
- Spenser, The* 60 159
- Spenser, Edmund* 101, 121
- Spice Islands*, 140 199, 302
- Spathead Mufiny* at 441
- Stafford, Thomas Howard, Viscount* 241
- Stahrenberg*, 316
- Stamp Act*, 387, 390, 401
- Stanhope, Sir James, E* 313, 316 323, 329, 331, 333
- Stanley* see *DEER*
- , *H M* : 567
- , *Sir William* 43
- Star Chamber*, 40, 55, 114, 163, 164 168, 170, 213
- Stayner, Sir Richard* 206
- Steam Engine*, 432
- Stop of the Exchequer*, 231
- Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, E of* 153, 154, 157, 162-164, 168, 169, 170, 171, 187, 207
- Strickland*, 114
- Strode, William* 159, 171
- Stuart, Arabella* 139
- , *Charles Edward* 353, 354
- , *James Francis Edward* 260, 263, 280, 300, 312 325, 334, 353-355
- , *Period general survey*, 131-136, *First Struggle*, 137, 138; *Second Struggle*, 212-214
- Submission of the Clergy*, 63, 67
- Subsidiary Treaties*, 419
- Succession Acts (English) under Henry VIII* — *First*, 69, *Second*, 72, *Third*, 84, *Elizabethan*, 113, 125, under *Stuarts*, 139 209
- Succession Wars* *Austrian*, 345, 346, 367, *Breton* 41 *English Protestant*, 268, 280-287, 295, 298, 339, *Spanish*, 298, 303-320
- Sudan*, 558 568
- Suez Canal* 548, 554
- Suffolk, House of* 109, 139
- , *Charles Brandon, D of* 53
- , *Edmund de la Pole, D of* 58
- Suffien, Pierre André, Bailie de* 109, 111
- Sunderland, Robert Spencer, 1st E of* 244 246, 253, 259, 291
- , *Charles Spencer, 3rd E of* 323 329 333
- Supremacy Acts (English)* *First*, 68, 98 *Second*, 103, 104, 114
- Supremacy, Oath of* 103, 277
- , *Royal (in England) medieval*, 9, 26, 27, *Tudor developments*, 63, 68, 72, 75, 98, 111, under *Stuarts*, 158, 164, 233 277
- Supremacy-Excisions Act*, 68, 69
- Supreme Head of the Church*, 62, 68, 104
- Suriuam*, 226
- Surrey, Henry Howard, E of* 84, 101 See too *NORFOLK*
- Suspending Power*, 251, 259, 265
- Sussex, Thomas Radclyffe, 3rd E of* 111
- Swartz, Martin* 39
- Sweden*, 206, 229
- Swift, Jonathan* 334
- Switzerland*, 2, 443, 452 522
- Syria*, 412, 443, 501, 515
- Talents, Ministry of all the* 456, 457
- Tallard*, 307
- Talleyrand, Charles Maurice de* 470
- Talmash, Thomas* 287

Tamworth Manifesto, 497

Tanger, 224

Taxation on land, 9, 25, 216; on personal property, 156, 288, indirect, 25, 247

Telegraphs, 511, 546

Temple, George Grenville, E 418

—, Richard Grenville, E 389

—, Sir William 229, 237

Test Acts 234, 238, 250, 252, 331, 337

Thagi, 503

Thiers, Adolphe 515

Thirty Years War 132, 152, 181

Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents, 392

Throgmorton Francis 122

Thurlow, Edward, Baron 418

Tipu Sultan, 449

Tithes, 202

Tobago, 415

Toleration Act, 270, 277

Toleration, Religious 134, 150, 161, 229, 240, 248, 270, 277

Tone, Theobald Wolfe 447

Torbay, 262

Tories, 239, 240, 243, 247, 264, 275, 279, 280, 291, 296, 299

Torres Vedras, 464

Torrington, Arthur Herbert, ord 274, 283, 285

Tourville, 283, 286, 287

Tower of London, The 38, 47, 117, 159, 237

Townshend, Charles, 2nd Viscount 323, 329, 333

—, Charles (grandson of abo 391, 401

Tractarian Movement, 500

Trades Unions, 479

Transportation Act, 402

Transubstantiation, 77, 234

Transvaal see SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Treason, *Statute of* 169

Treason-Trials Act, 293

Treasurer, 40, 274

Treaties known by place-names

Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, 132, 229, 358, 359, 367; Adrianople 483, Alkmaar, 443, Allahabad, 394, 428, Amiens, 446, 451, 452, Antwerp, 141, Augsburg, 261, Barthenstein, 460, Basel, 439, Berlin, 346, 555; Berwick, 107, 165, Bloemfontein, 530; Breda, 226, Breslau, 346, Cambray, 53, Campo-Formio,

440, Cateau-Cambresis, 102, 107, Cintra, 462, Dover, 230, 231, 234, Edinburgh, 108, Estaples, 41, 42, Gandamak, 534, Ghent, 467; Hanover, 336, 338, Hubertsburg, 382; Kilkeny, 182, Kilmainham, 559, Klosterseven, 376, Kutaya, 501, Kutahuk-Kamarij, 532, Leith, 108, Limerick, 284, London, 141, 481, 491, 557, 570, Lunéville, 445, 452, Madrid, 358, Nan-King, 517, Newport 193, Nymwegen, 132, 235, Oxford, 179, Paris, 382, 385, 415, 428, 469, 535, 547, Pressburg, 455; Pretoria, 557, Pyrenees, 132, 206, Ripon, 167, Ryswick, 295, St Germain-en-Laye, 161, Sand River, 530, San Stefano, 555, Seville, 338, Susa, 160, Tientsin, 536, Tilsit, 460, 461, 468, Unkiar-Skelessi, 501, Utrecht, 320, 328, 330, 331, 344, 345, Uxbridge, 187, Versailles, 373, 374, 415, 428, Vervins, 127, Vienna, 336, 338, 340, Washington, 517, Westphalia, 132, 190, 437, Westminster, 200, 373, 374, Worms, 350, Yandabu, 502

Treaties known by special names Ashburton, 519, Assiento, 320, 332, 341, 350, Broken, 284, Cession, 181, 182, Holy League, 53, Methuen, 306; Partition, First, 298, 300, Partition, Second, 298, 300, Solemn League and Covenant, 181, 183, 191, 219, Triple Alliance, 229, 230, 328, 321

Trial by Jury, 28, 40

Triennial Acts First, 170, Second, 222, 243 Third, 289, 326

Triers, 305

Trinitarians, 131, 27

Tromp, Martin van 200

Tumultu Petitioning Act against

Tunnage and Poundage, 135, 144, 153, 158

Turkey, 34, 36, 424, 442, 446, 481, 501, 532-535, 555, 573

Tuscany, 340

Tyndale, William 78, 101

Tyrconnel, Richard Talbot, E of 253, 255

Ulster, 121, 128, 147, 162, 163, 171, 182, 197

Undertakers, 146

- Uniformity, Acts of: First*, 88.
Second, 92; *Third*, 103, *Fourth*,
 219, 229, 252
Union, Acts of Anglo-Scottish, 810.
Brito-Irish, 448
Union: Anglo-Scottish, 310; *Anglo*
Welsh, 76, 80; *Brito-Irish*, 448.
Anglo-Spanish, 98-100, *Personal*,
 131, 139, 140, 146
Unionists, 566
Unitarians, 134, 277
United Irishmen, 417
 — *Provinces see* NETHERLANDS
 — *States*, 413, 415, 417, 467, 542
Universities, 64, 78, 101, 252
Utilitarians, 431

Vagrancy Act, 89
Valentine, Benjamin, 159
Valois, 41, 102
Vancouver Island, 545
Van Dieman's Land, 529
Vane, Sir Harry, 183, 200, 201, 215
Varna, 533
Venables, Robert, 200
Venice, 35, 53
Vergen, 327
Vergennes, Charles Gravier, Comte
de, 407
Vernon, Edward, 345
Viceroy of India, 538
Victoria: the Queen, 510-575, *Colony*,
 529
Villars, 315
Villeneuve, Peter, 454
Villeroi, 308
Villiers, Charles, 512
 — *see* BUCKINGHAM
Indus et Gallicae, 436
Virginia, 127, 147, 370
Volunteers, 410, 539, 551, 572

Wade, George, 353
Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, 529
Walcheren, 463
Walker, Obadiah, 252
Wallachia, 460, 535
Waller, Edmund, 180
 — *Sir William*, 177, 185, 187
Walpole, Horace, 377
 — *Sir Robert*, 314, 331-339, 348
Walingham, Francis, 103
Warhock, Perkin: 42-45, 47
Warham, William, 66
Warwick, Edward, E. of: 38, 39
Washington, George: 371, 404, 406, 413

Watt, James, 432
Wellesley, Arthur see WELLINGTON
 — *Richard, Marquess*, 449, 450,
 466
Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, D. of
 — *as warrior*, 450, 462, 464-469, 471;
 — *as politician*, 475, 482-487, 497, 526
Wentworth, Thomas see STRAFFORD
Wesleys, John and Charles, 343
Western Australia, 529
Westfalia, 460
West Indies, 381, 408
 — *Point*, 413
Westminster, 40, 50, 190, 215, 262
Westmorland, Charles Neville, E. of:
 111
Weston, Richard see PORTLAND
Wharton, Sir Philip Wharton, D. of:
 291, 314
Whigs, 211, 239, 243, 248, 264, 291,
 299, 314, 323, 341, 383, 438, 487
Whitefield, George, 343
Whitelocke, Henry, 457
Wilberforce, William, 425
Wilkes, John, 362, 386, 387, 393, 397
William III. K. of England, etc *re-*
lations with Charles II, 226, 232,
 241; *relations with James II*, 235,
 253, 257, 260-265, *reign with Mary*,
 274-289; *sole reign*, 290-301
 — *IV, K. of Great Britain*, 486-503
 — *the Silent, Prince of Orange*:
 122, 123
Williams, Roger, 161
Wilmington, Spencer Compton, Lord.
 337, 348, 351
Wimbledon, Sir Edward Cecil, Vis-
count, 153
Witt, John de, 200, 226
Wolfe, James, 377
Wolsey, Thomas, 54-59, 62, 251
Wood's Halfpence, 335
Worcester, 179
Wren, Sir Christopher, 236
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 96, 101
Wyndham, Sir William, 341

Yakub Khan, 554
Year of Anarchy, The, 138, 210, 211
Yeomanry, 50, 176, 177
York, 73, 110, 167, 175, 184
 — *Frederick, D. of*: 437, 443

Zambesi River, 570
Zanzibar, 568
Zulu War, 566

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